IDENTITY ARTIFACTS AND CULTURAL CRUMBS: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ART MUSIC OF JOHN DANGERFIELD COOPER

by

Marcus Alonzo Simmons

Submitted to the faculty of the
Jacobs School of Music in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree,
Doctor of Music
Indiana University
December 2019

Accepted by the faculty of the
Indiana University Jacobs School of Music
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree
Doctor of Music

Doctoral Committee

_____
Raymond Wise, Research Director

_____
Carol Vaness, Committee Chair

_____
Marietta Simpson

_____
Peter Volpe

September 16, 2019

This dissertation is dedicated to my ancestors who struggled and strove, pressing onward always, for it is due to every obstacle overcome in their lives that I am enabled to reach this point and to produce this work in mine. I wish to specifically and especially dedicate this to the memories of Isham Owen Baker, Ada Blaylock Simmons and Clyde Taylor Simmons without whom I would not be and Dr. James Edward Matthews Hoy and Mr. Allen Foster without whom I would not have known the existence of this great music, and musicianly man.

Acknowledgements

I thank God for my life, health and strength, my love for music and my determination. These have all been tested on my journey to the completion of this document and degree and I know that, if not for grace and mercy, these words would not be written.

I would like to thank my research director, Dr. Raymond Wise, for his sage advice on all aspects of the dissertation. His thoroughness and guidance were invaluable.

I would like to thank the members of my advisory and dissertation committees —Dr. Carol Vaness, Dr. Raymond Wise, Prof. Marietta Simpson, Prof. Peter Volpe, and Dr. Roman Ivanovitch— whose guidance and suggestions were valuable in keeping this dissertation focused and grounded.

Thanks to the musicians of Tindley Temple United Methodist Church, St. Luke's Episcopal Church, NANM, and Phi Mu Alpha who were the inspiration for the subject matter of this study, especially Dr. James Edward Matthews Hoy, Mr. Allen Foster, Mr. Theodore Thomas Jr., Mr. David Antony Lofton, and Mrs. Margaret White Palmer.

Special thanks to my wife, Jessica, who is a constant source of encouragement and inspiration, my family who have nurtured and endured my curiosity and all those in my "framily" for believing in and encouraging me to strive upward toward the light.

Thanks to the family and friends of Dr. Cooper who allowed me to pester them with my questions and curiosities and encouraged me in my continued pursuit and study of the life and music of Dr. Cooper.

It is necessary that I give thanks and offer my gratitude to Dr. Tammy Kernodle without whom I would have never started this specific journey of inquiry. Dr. K, thank you for teaching me how to do this work and for being an inspiration to write the stories which I believe deserve and need to be told. You helped me to find my voice and realize what I had to offer the world. That was a labor which I will never forget.

Thank you to Dr. Carren Moham for the many calls you answered, theories you entertained, suggestions you offered, meals you cooked, and encouragements you offered along this journey. I am very grateful to have had your assistance in achieving this accomplishment.

Thank you to Dr. Janice Jackson and Dr. Rachel Franklin. You both did the work of giving me the tools to thrive and permission to create when those I had were worn out and expired. Thank you for tending the fire which burned within the young scholar's heart that I had upon entering and matriculating through UMBC. Without your labor, I would not have successfully launched from there to this point of accomplishment.

Identity Artifacts and Cultural Crumbs: An Analysis of the Music of John Dangerfield Cooper

This dissertation provides a biography for Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper, a culturally informed lens to examine and understand his works, and a paradigm for approaching African American art music. It has been said by many that "African Americans have not made a substantive contribution to the field of art music, hence their exclusion from the canonical anthologies and analytical texts of the genre." Research showed that African American composers who had indeed made significant contributions to the genre and many had already been biographized and their music published. My research also revealed that much of the work focusing on this music lacked cultural some awareness with analyses lacking depth and breadth to fully capture the musical messages in the manuscripts. Even further research revealed that there was not biographical information for composer John Cooper and that there was differing opinions about his oeuvre. I found this intriguing and completed the research that led to this full study on Cooper, his works, and African American paradigmatic analysis. To provide a biography for Dr. Cooper and enhance the analytical tools for African American art music, I began with an examination of Dr. Cooper's life and works. Collecting Cooper's works, interviewing friends, family, and former students, and reading the writings of Cooper's contemporaries, I gained context for his music, experiences, and perspective on those who lived

before and during the same time period. Incorporating analytical works about African American cultural communication, identity construction, and musical heritage written by ethnomusicologists, music theorists, anthropologists, philosophers, educators, historians, sociologists, and psychologists resulted in the creation of a biography for Dr. Cooper and a paradigm to approach his and other African American's art music. After assimilating these various sources, it seemed that specific and essential elements related to the personal and cultural identity of the composer were illuminated. I best described these elements as cultural crumbs and identity artifacts. These elements, taken together with consideration of Jennifer Post's life spheres and an expansion of Horace Maxile's semiotic framework, produced the lenses necessary to view Dr. Cooper's work contextually for academically and culturally competent interpretation and understanding.

Table of Contents

List of Examples

List of Figures

List of Appendices

Introduction: Setting the Stage

The increased acceptance of and curiosity about African American culture in the United States has led many scholars to approach African American sacred and secular cultural expressions with an examining lens. Although many scholars have understood the need to develop a lens to examine African American music, the lenses created to examine African American music have not always adequately explained the music. It is commonly accepted that a composer's music is a message captured on a page in perpetuity. This message tells the listener about particular subjects from the voice and perspective of the composer. It is well documented that unique representations of identity and artistic voice are constructed and preserved in the works of musical composers no matter the race, gender, ethnicity, or age. Analyzing the construction of a composer's musical message can give the audience a window into the composer's musical life. Therefore, the lenses we use to filter the message must be academically *and* culturally competent for the fullest comprehension of the musical message. Without the proper lenses as tools for interpretation and understanding, the message on the page can, and will, be misconstrued. This dissertation serves to provide a biography for Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper and constructs an academic, culturally competent lens through which his works can be examined and understood, and an analytical paradigm to understand and humanize African American art music.

This dissertation is a significant work due to the absence of biographical information on Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper and the increased interest in analysis of African American art music. When art music is considered, it has been said by many that "African Americans have not made a substantive contribution to the field of art music, hence their exclusion from the canonical anthologies and analytical texts of the genre." As I began to research, I discovered that this perspective, though common, was inaccurate and that there were many African American composers who had indeed made significant contributions to the genre. Many had already been biographized and their music published and distributed by publishers such as G. Schirmer Inc., Edward B. Marks Music Company, Keiser Southern Music, and GA Publications Inc. As I further researched specific composers and perused familiar and unfamiliar published works, I found that there was not biographical information for composer John Cooper, who had written a favored hymn of my childhood, and those who knew his works were of widely differing opinions about his oeuvre. I found this intriguing so I did further research which led to this full study on Cooper and his works. My research also revealed that much of the analytical work focusing on African American art music was devoid of cultural competency which left the analysis lacking the depth and breadth to fully capture the musical messages captured in the analyzed manuscripts. In order to provide a biography for Dr. Cooper in the literature and enhance the analytical

tools to understand the art music of African American composers, I began a more intensive examination of Dr. Cooper's life and works. By collecting Cooper's available works, I learned about his music and compositional style. By interviewing his friends and family, and by reading the testimonials and writings of contemporary composers and artist, I was able to gain insight into his personal perspective and that of those who lived before and during the same time period. This led me to also study analytical works about African American cultural communication, identity construction, and musical heritage written by ethnomusicologist, music theorists, anthropologists, philosophers, educators, historians, sociologist, and psychologists. This resulted in the creation of both a biography for Dr. Cooper and an analytical paradigm through which his and other African American's art music could be approached. Due to the minimal catalogue of literature specifically on African American music, the age of the composer, and the lack of his formally published works, this study was limited because most of Dr. Cooper's works were unpublished or self-published with little distribution. There were only a few recordings and scores of Dr. Cooper's works available at the time of this study. Out of respect for the copyright, only those which are published and distributed to the public are included in the figures of this document.

After assimilating these various sources, it seemed that specific and essential elements related to the personal and cultural identity of the

composer were illuminated. I best described these elements as cultural crumbs and identity artifacts. In order to avoid any ambiguity with this terminology, I have defined the terms cultural crumbs and identity artifacts, as applied in this study, as a means of identifying and explaining essential information regarding how it and what was being said on the composed page. *Cultural Crumbs* are compositional techniques and approaches that are retentions from specific traditions, contexts, or practices. Its use in a piece serves to signal the audience to the composer's musical or cultural heritage. *Identity Artifacts* are distinguishing elements present in a creation which signify a specific creator. When gathered and pieced together as snapshots, we gain insight into a composer's style and worldview. *Cultural Crumbs* are often *Identity Artifacts* but the inverse is not always true. *Artifacts* are intentional identity markers and *crumbs* are residue from experience. Together, *artifacts* and *crumbs* are analytical clues to the musical and personal history of a composer. These clues can be things as simple as instrumentation choice and melody shape or as complex as idiomatic musical progressions and selected harmonic languages. These elements, taken together with consideration of Jennifer Post's life spheres and an expansion of Horace Maxile's semiotic framework, give us the lenses necessary to view Dr. Cooper's work in a contextual light as a means for academically and culturally competent interpretation and understanding.

Chapter 1: Context, Artifacts, and Connection to Crumbs

> I'm terrified at the moral apathy - the death of the heart - which is happening in my country. The people have deluded themselves for so long that they really don't think I'm human. And I base this on their conduct, not on what they say. And this means they have become in themselves moral monsters. — James Baldwin[1]

> "We are the sum total of our experiences. Those experiences – be they positive or negative – make us the person we are, at any given point in our lives. And, like a flowing river, those same experiences, and those yet to come, continue to influence and reshape the person we are, and the person we become. None of us are the same as we were yesterday, nor will be tomorrow." — BJ Neblett[2]

"What are your musical inspirations?" is a question asked often of performers. It is a simple question but one I had not contemplated long enough to answer acutely and accurately. As I began my journey of personal inquiry, interrogation, and analysis, I started gathering music which I had heard and by which I was moved in my life. The music spanned from that which I had heard at times in church to the living room of my family home. As they came to me and I began the process of recording the titles and authors of almost everything. I became stuck without details for what I assumed was an old hymn that I had known from a hymnal which I had used for as long as I could remember. Since I

---

[1] Raoul Peck, Rémi Grellety, Hébert Peck, James Baldwin, Henry Adebonojo, Bill Ross, Turner Ross, et al. 2017. *I am not your Negro*.

[2] BJ Neblett, *George (Part 1)*, http://bjneblett.blogspot.com/2013/02/george-part-one.html.

was gathering music of personal significance as a means of constructing my musical influences to then analyze and begin understanding my own musical tastes, I knew I needed this information. As I endeavored to find it, I discovered that a crucial piece of the information was missing. The name of the composer of *Lord I Have Seen Thy Salvation* was available; no biographical information for composer John Cooper was available with the catalogue of all the others in the back of the hymnal. I knew that, without this information, I could not gain the insight I desired. Because we gather insight into the creator of musical works based not just on the stylistic choices and constructional skill displayed, having biographical information is of paramount importance. The compositions divulge things about the composers as simple as their implicit and explicit education and as broad and complex as the exposures of a composer to the union catalogue of all defined musical sounds within the scope of their lifetime. Without a biography, there are no facts, simple nor complex, to be found.

Instead, a gleaning or inferring of information is the most concrete ascertainment possible. This gleaning is possible because the spheres of experience that shape the reception of ideas, as defined by Jennifer Post in her work "Erasing the Boundaries between the Public and the Private in Women's Performance Traditions," are constructions to determine how

behavior performance is to be practiced in each sphere.[3] Gender is a very essential metric of behavior politics which outline essential elements in how Post frames her definitions of the public and private sphere. However, whether based on gender, socio-economics, race, or education, the creation of societally constructed confines apply across the traditions and cultures of a society. These spheres are defined not just by the presence of an audience and/or the performance's spatial location or level of interpersonal engagement but by the language that governs practices in these places. Because of these guidelines, all execution of physical and/or verbal language by a creator can be understood and filtered by the receiver as essential elements of the creator's worldview.

This understanding is what allows us to then glean valuable information that is intrinsic to the language creator's identity. Because John Cooper was a musician, I did glean some things from his musical language. That is because musical composition, just like any other language, is a deeply personal form of expression that encapsulates the sum-total of a person's experiences through a certain worldview. Because musical expression is taught concurrently with the personal nature of expressed intent, the resulting product is a uniquely identifying artifact. Because the product was employed intentionally, the artifact becomes also useable as a data point which analysts like me can use. This data

[3]Jennifer C. Post, 1994, "Erasing the Boundaries between Public and Private in Women's Performance Traditions," Cecilia Reclaimed, 35-51.

point, which we have identified as an artifact, is a uniquely identifying artifact or simply an identity artifact. Identity artifacts are the acts or pieces of data that we leave behind in our works and life because they are intrinsic and essential representations that communicate who we are. The art song genre is, and has been since the time of Schubert, a genre well-suited to inventive and evocative communication which promotes this essential representation of identity, and identifying, expression.

Cooper's use of music as his chosen communicative medium is fortuitous because of how dense it is with data points. The musical communication medium serves to heighten the data points being preserved for analysis because music uses so many senses and is full of simultaneous potency and vulnerability. This is due to the specificity and transparency of the performance forces, the intimacy of the most frequent performance venues, and the depth of emotional material explored and reacted to in the texts. The effective piece and performance both require vast amounts of focus and intensity to keep the audience engaged across the dramatic contours of the piece. This intimacy, immediacy and potency of the genre, coupled with the variations of performance spheres, be they the one intended for use by the creators or not, means that music is especially rich with varied source material and dense with data points for analysis.

It is undeniable that artistic compositions are unique because these compositions are copyrightable. The ability to copyright something means that it is, by definition, a uniquely individual creation and the right to both the physical and intellectual property belongs to the creator and not the authors/creators of its influences or reference works. This right of ownership also means, inherently, that the copyright holder's creation bears a uniqueness that is constructed of the musical worldview and ideologies of the composer which are preserved in the composition and based on the conflation of their experiences in the public and private spheres of their life. These are their identity artifacts which they leave on the manuscript page. Since the composer's creations represent the conglomeration of such intimate and intrinsic parts of themselves, including their creativity, vulnerability and dynamism, these compositions are experiences which are loaded with identifying information. This information comes across to the analytically inclined in musical attributes as complicated as the adherence or disobedience to normative musical construction and the treatment of subject matter in musical settings or as simple as the length and shape of musical phrases. When included intentionally, these elements are the identity artifacts however when they are unintentionally added to a piece, they are similar in function to residue or crumbs. This residue I call the cultural crumbs that we have as part of the lens through which we engage the world.

They are crumbs because we do not reproduce or plagiarize our experiences if we use these attributes in our own works. These attributes tell us where a creator has been and what they have ingested as does a trail of crumbs which has fallen to the ground after a cookie or piece of toast is eaten. These attributes, whether simple or complex, are a person's experiences resurfacing after being processed. The resurfacing of the specific crumb attributes is important because they have informed the creator's behavior but are not consciously curated parts of that person's identity construction. Therefore, depending on the level of intentionality of inclusion and operation, these musical attributes provide snapshots that can be either identity artifacts or cultural crumbs.

For Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper in the 21st century, the voice and representation available in art music, and art song specifically, was an appealing vehicle of expressions as it had been for other composers from the Western and African American art music traditions from earlier generations. He turned to it in his public life and private life. It is precisely these vehicles of preservative identity and culture through which we can, via theoretical and topical analysis, decipher snapshots of his experiences and even surmise insights and deduce details of the various spheres of his life. These details and snapshots as sources of insight are possible because music composition is the result of inspired human construction. As with any other of these human constructions,

the musical elements a composer uses to create is that which is already present within them. It is with these raw materials that they produce their compositions. The compositions exist as the resulting effort of their assembly inside themselves to create a product outside themselves for the world to hear. This resulting creation is therefore a retention of what it was assembled from in the composer's internal sound-sphere and reflects the deeply-held ideas of the composer's worldview. This is because every composer's sound-sphere and worldview comes from the filtered retentions of their experiences with the outside world.

> "We are the sum total of our experiences. Those experiences – be they positive or negative – make us the person we are, at any given point in our lives. And, like a flowing river, those same experiences, and those yet to come, continue to influence and reshape the person we are, and the person we become. None of us are the same as we were yesterday, nor will be tomorrow."[4]

The compositional voice is, and resulting compositions are, therefore serviceable for insight and analysis because they are a result of these retentions and have been shaped by all of the things with which the composer has intersected in their life. By properly analyzing a composer's the compositions, both theoretically and topically, we investigate how the construction of compositional voice and style reflects the deeply-held ideas of the composer's unique worldview, discover what elements were combined, and can trace them to the various influences from which we

[4] BJ Neblett, *George (Part 1)*, http://bjneblett.blogspot.com/2013/02/george-part-one.html.

can deduce they must have come to be present in the composer's life. This diligent and sensitive work is how humanistic analytical lenses are constructed. This approach will produce the lenses that frame Dr. Cooper's worldview and illuminate the analyzed compositions from both a theoretically and culturally fluent angle. This fluency is necessary to properly appreciate the compositions for the fullness they possess, perform or hear them with the most accurate interpretation and also in order to learn from them.

To rightly understand the intersection of these spheres of influence, glean all the artifacts from the performance of identity and collect the crumbs from the unconscious sound-sphere, it is necessary first to understand the biographical context into which the composer was birthed and through which they were raised and lived. Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper was a composer and Renaissance man, but more essentially, he was a middle-class black man from South Philadelphia that grew up in the depths of the Great Depression. This is the place and space that birthed him and, along with the influence of his parents and community, shaped and molded him into the man he was to become. This study will explore the life of John Dangerfield Cooper to uncover the identity artifacts and cultural crumbs that provide insight to his musical style.

Because I began my journey of inquiry, interrogation and analysis to learn these things, I was led to the topic of the presence of identity artifacts and cultural crumbs in the music Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper through multiple interconnected means. Though, at first, I started not knowing much of Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper, not considering the concepts of identity artifacts or cultural crumbs, nor had I any interest specifically in the musical life of Philadelphia, this changed as my academic studies progressed. As a native Philadelphian, I was interested in learning about a place I had not lived or been much of my life but as a future educator, I was interested in the unknown and deepening my knowledge to become an expert in something. Yes, I wanted to learn about how what I had experienced musically and otherwise outside of myself was connected to the rest of the world but I also had to discover why those things mattered to the field of academia. I started on this discovery by hoping to answer the question, "What are your musical inspirations?" and, instead, after searching and finding essentially nothing about John Cooper and struggling to find work on the significance of African American art music, I was thrust on an analytical journey to find out who Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper and to validate, using him as study subject, the substantive contributions of African American art music composers to academia and the canon of classical music.

My first order of inquiry began with the task of procuring scores for the study of art music by black composers. For this study, I drew on my initial impulse and selected composers and works which I knew bore special significance or curiosity to me from my childhood to that time in 2009. The list I compiled was *Treemonisha* by Scott Joplin, *David Danced Before the Lord* by Edward Kennedy Ellington, *The Negro Speaks of Rivers* by Margaret Bonds, *Lord I Have Seen* by John Cooper, *Fantasy in Purple* by Florence Price, *Riding to Town* by Thomas Kerr, *Harlem Sweeties* by Dorothy Rudd Moore, *Frederic Douglas* by Ulysses S. Kay, and *Five Quixotic Songs* by Julia Perry. As I searched for scores, my simultaneous research into these pieces led me to search for commercial and academic output on these works also. While there were few commercial or pirated recordings, there thankfully were a precious few recorded performances housed on video-sharing sites of the internet like YouTube, and some private recordings were made available from persons I met who knew the composers personally and/or recorded the works themselves. My desire was to gather enough material for a professional-length lecture recital on the topic. I knew, in order to accomplish this, I needed to have historical and contextual material that would suffice to provide the necessary content and wanted to be certain that I would have enough material to accomplish my task. I also wanted to make certain that any analysis that I undertook on my own was informed by the field and scholarship which existed already on the subject at hand because I was hoping my work

would make a case for the significance of these composers' contributions to classical music. I found more on my search and continued to find the information on Dr. Cooper decided lacking.

Because I found very few secondary sources, I deduced a need for the gathering of primary sources and set out to do so. As I was finishing my degree at Miami University, I knew that I was interested in looking at the music of black composers and that I needed to focus on primary sources so I started my journey collecting them in 2010. Through the course of this research, I searched libraries and contacted institutions to see if they had information on the works of various affiliated composers. I contacted the Smithsonian National Museum of American History for Duke Ellington's works, Westminster Choir College Archive for Julia Perry's works, Special Collections at the University of Arkansas for Florence Price's works, and the musical archives of St. Luke's Church for Dr. Cooper's works. I requested access to any copies of music from the composers whose works I learned that they had and was given access to some music by Ellington, Price, and Cooper. I also found the works of Kerr, and Bonds in library searches. Because of the amount of music, information, and access I was able to get to the music of Cooper and those who knew him with my initial inquiry in 2010 and the lack of previous scholarly work on him, I chose to begin my study with a focus on his output in 2010 and began that work with an analytically theoretical approach. The resulting effort was my Master's thesis. For it, I

created questionnaires, conducted interviews of family, friends and colleagues, learned about the ethnographic and historical profile of Philadelphia and the surrounding area, and I even examined the American nationwide cultural landscape at different times in his life to understand the context in which he himself and the works themselves were created. These pieces of information and this understanding did not go into the thesis document because it was outside of its scope, but it informed me of something deeper and more substantive that was yet to be addressed in my scholastic output and my general educational approaches to musical analytics.

The materials gathered and contacts made for this present document were initially compiled as I conducted the research to complete my Master of Music degree at Miami University. I have worked on this material since 2010 and continued until the present. This research has formed the basis for my analysis and sparked in me the ideas which I have developed into the concepts of identity artifacts and cultural crumbs. Identity artifacts are acts or pieces of data that we leave behind in our works and life which we believe to be intrinsic representations of who we are and find to be essential to that expression of self. Cultural crumbs are retentions of cultural practice from that past which are sprinkled into the modern behavior of a person. They serve to inform

behavior but are not conscious parts of a person's identity construction. These elements sit at the crosshairs of Post's spheres.[5]

My thesis left me with lingering questions. I wondered, "What use is understanding the progression of a harmony if you do not or have not tried to understand the expression that is released in it? What affect is being stirred here? Do the aesthetic of this musical moment really get communicated with those Roman numerals? Are there musically referentially elements that your audience might be missing?" Thus, I felt implored to continue to read, to think and to analyze. These questions were crucial because they kept me searching for an answer. I continued to find articles, interviews, and books on topics that intersected the approaches to the analytics that I employed or desired. For instance, conversations around music topical theory analysis, ability and access to publishing which could change a composer's output or the appropriation of style for the sake of acceptability were essential cogitative sustenance for me as I further engaged with music in general and the music of minority composers particularly. The question I asked constantly became, "is this a work of compositional voice manipulation or preservation?" Because of the enormity of this question, it became necessary to introduce context and content to my analytical construct.

[5] Jennifer C. Post, 1994, "Erasing the Boundaries between Public and Private in Women's Performance Traditions," Cecilia Reclaimed, 35-51.

In order to do this, I realized that, despite my best efforts, I did not know enough about the man whose music I was analyzing. I knew that Dr. Cooper penned many compositions but I had few scores. From the interviews I conducted, it was known that he wrote solo works for friends and family, oratorios and at least one mass cycle for St. Luke's church, concert pieces for the choirs and orchestras he conducted, works for chamber ensembles, organ, and piano pieces, concertos, and an opera cycle. Of these pieces, I was only able to obtain copies to about 20 pieces. I studied and learned them to the best of my ability. I repeatedly analyzed them, revisiting them with the new knowledge and insight that I gained during my doctoral studies. Despite this, I still felt that I was missing something. In order to remedy this, I realized I had to again experience that which I knew, as if it were the first time. "How?" was the question. In my attempt to answer this question, I decided to approach the music by relearning it anew via musical transcription. I wanted, and felt I needed, to identify an authoritative recording.

From my original research, I knew that one of Dr. Cooper's students, Andrea Jones Sojola, had a recording on YouTube of his African American idiom-aligned piece *Lord I Have Seen.* Because Cooper himself taught it to her, I felt certain that her recording would be faithful to his wishes and that I could experience it anew. After repeated listening to the piece, I transcribed it. I then found an original facsimile score, compared the two and conferred with Mrs. Jones Sojola to make sure

that my impressions were correct. What I heard when I compared the two scores revealed greater insight. From this time, I created a theory regarding Cooper's music and I continued until the present conducting research which included writing emails to institutions to get access to papers regarding Dr. Cooper and doing my own musical analysis. During my master's research, I conducted in person and phone interviews and did my best to make recordings of the interviews at the time that I took them, make transcriptions, and keep electronic records of questionnaire and email responses that I received. In my initial selection, I was careful to interview participants based on the roles that they had played in the life of Dr. Cooper, their familiarity with his various professional responsibilities, and his compositional process. I asked them to acknowledge and reflect despite their differing racial, ethnic, socioeconomic, cultural and educational backgrounds and inquired about ways in which these intersecting identities may have influenced their understanding of and interactions with Dr. Cooper and his work.

I was able to speak with members of his choir and the current organist of St. Luke's church, a few of his children, neighbors, former students, and his friends and artistic collaborators. These were very fruitful interviews that usually lasted, when over the phone, between an hour and two and, when in person, between two and three hours. In either case, this evidentiary gathering process was approached from the perspective that each person would offer different levels and angles of

insight and understanding into the musical and personal context of Dr. Cooper. I did not change the questionnaire that I had for each interview, but, for that reason, I did not have the same level of expectation for depth and quality of the data that I would receive from each interviewee's answers. For, just as a person's musical output is curated based on what is pertinent and prudent for optimal communication in a given circumstance, so are their personal interactions with broader humanity. It is therefore unlikely that a person would be known entirely in the same way to everyone that they meet and with whom they associate. For the purposes of using the most verified and corroborated information gathered from the interviews conducted, this study will consider the interviews conducted with choir members Mrs. Margaret White Palmer, Mrs. Christine Broome, Mrs. Yvonne Thompson, and Mrs. Naomi Calwood Dobson, friend and collaborator Dr. Eric Horsley, daughter Mrs. Carolyn Cooper Smith, and former students Mr. Jordan Thomas and Mrs. Andrea Jones Sojola.

These interviews were chosen because they showed as fully developed a reconstructed picture of Dr. Cooper as I could possibly make having never had the elongated pleasure of meeting him. The voices of these friends, family, and musicians were essential to me interrogating the intersection of Dr. Cooper's identity, persona and musicianship. Without these understandings, I would not gain the necessary

information to be able to do the kind of analysis of his works that I believe to be essential to the proper understanding of his oeuvre.

These interviews also provided a broader context for the pieces because the interviewees discussed personal anecdotes about Dr. Cooper like how he encouraged them in times of need or how he shared with them his wonderful sense of humor like the comic clipping which he gave to one of them found here and in Appendix C.

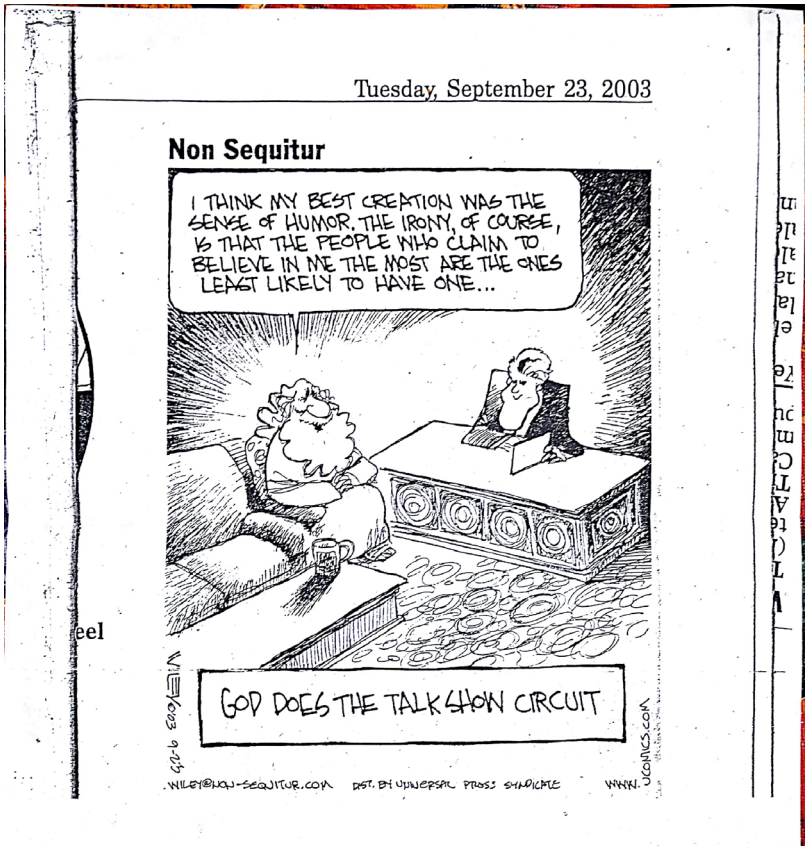


Figure.1.1 A comic shared from Dr. Cooper to a choir member

Additionally, the interviews provided opportunities for sharing about discussions that were had with Dr. Cooper around race, culture, and navigating power dynamics in American culture. All three interviewees, Mrs. Sojola, Mrs. Dobson, and Mrs. Thompson, discussed the ways in which Dr. Cooper engaged with them about self-deportment and respectability politics in regards to traditional values as young people who identify as African Americans. He was always teaching.

Since Dr. Cooper's works are not widely published or distributed and in order to respect the rights and distribution control of the copyright holders, full versions of Dr. Coopers music, unless previously published and distributed, will not be used in this document. I will, instead, create representative transcriptions of his music and lyrics and make specific mention of important words through and in charts, graphs and sketches for the purposes of analysis. Since permission to print entire scores and long passages was not given for this analytical project, I will also speak about musical passages, progressions, and/or sequences in a narrative format so that a sense of the music will be conveyed without compromising the rights of the copyright holder. With this information and the ideas of cultural crumbs and identity artifacts, I knew I was ready to embark on this examination of Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper, both the man and his music, with both an academically and culturally competent approach.

Chapter 2: The Negro Dreams His World

Yet I'm the one who dreamt our basic dream
In the Old World while still a serf of kings,
Who dreamt a dream so strong, so brave, so true,
The even yet its mighty daring sings
In every brick and stone, in every furrow turned
That's made America the land it has become.
O, I'm the man who sailed those early seas
In search of what I meant to be my home-
For I'm the one who left dark Ireland's shore,
And Poland's plain, and England's grassy lea,
And torn from Black African's strand I came
To build a "homeland of the free." — Langston Hughes[1]

Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper is a product of the society of South Philadelphia as it stood in the early 1920s. This section of the city was, and still is, one with a culturally, socioeconomically, and ethnically diverse landscape and climate. The personal and public life of those around the neighborhoods was rich with art, music, manners and customs from the European "old country" and "back home" down South as well as those descended from the native, free, and pilgrim populations already living in the North before industrialization, large-scale immigration, and the Great Migration occurred. The education and exposure he received in his South Philadelphia home and neighborhood was an essentially formative element for the life of Cooper. Incorporate to this climate the incursion that was the Great Depression in addition to the two World Wars that would strike and the contextual recipe for the

[1] Langston Hughes, *Let America Be America Again and Other Poems,* 1st Vintage Books ed, New York: Vintage Books, 2004, pg 3-7.

milieu from which the young Cooper would rise is potent. Cooper's life exposure, especially in his early years, was rich with the triumphs and disasters of human existence in strikingly stark contrast. This context has many layers and peeling them back is essential to understanding the man that Dr. Cooper became.

Historical Context

Figure 2.1. Map of Philadelphia labeled by section[2]

[2] Fredric Miller, Morris J Vogel, and Allen Freeman Davis, *Philadelphia Stories: A Photographic History, 1920-1960,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988, 4.

Philadelphia in 1922 was a place of industry and opportunity for people of certain class, race, gender most especially, and socioeconomic status. Beginning in the mid-1800s via horse powered street car and continuing up to and through the early 1910s, the city was building an infrastructure that meant that both structure and leisure, enterprise and exercise were available to its corporal mass of citizenry.

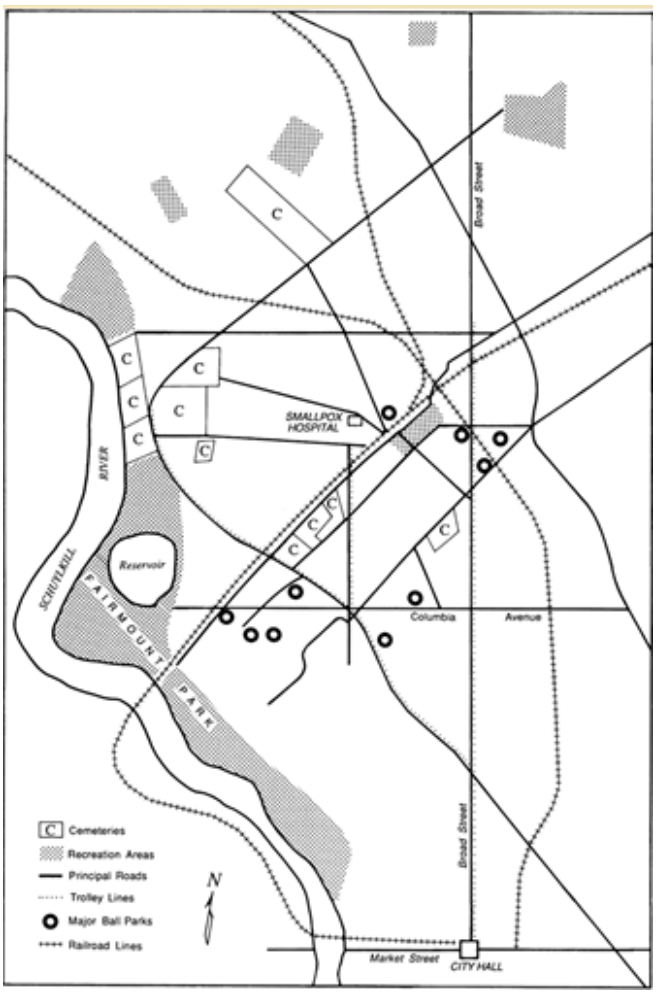


Figure 2.2. Map of City North of City Hall 1860-1910.[3]

[3] Bruce Kuklick, *To Every Thing a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909-1976.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

As seen in the picture above from Bruce Kuklick's *To Every Thing a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia*, there were still major thoroughfares formed and connected lines running north, and presumably south, of City Hall even though mass transit like the Broad Street subway did not start running until the 1920s.

There were also trains and trolleys, roads for carriages, wagons, and the following innovation of cars. The 1920s brought automobiles in mass to the urban center which necessitated mass transit. This, in turn, brought more opportunity for people of all classes to travel farther to and from home for work on a daily basis because travel by roadway was no longer a viable option. The mills, factories and shipyard hired workers from near, and now, far to come and toil daily on shift. Whether it be in textiles, steel, machining, or on the docks, bartending, waitressing, or tailoring among other things, there were plenty of opportunities for skilled and willing hands as discussed in the stories documented in Walter Licht's book *Getting Work* where he discusses the lives of four specific Americans among the 2,500 who shared their stories from the Great Depression period with researchers. This land of opportunity is the one into which our young Dr. Cooper was born in 1922. The booming economy, the migration, emigration, and immigration populating the crowded streets and the hustle and bustle of industry came to a sputtering halt in the period from1929-39, which would have been the years of 7-17 in the life of Cooper, as the economy, which was artificially

buoyed by the demands of a country, could not be sustained by what was ultimately the temporary return of peace. This abrupt change most assuredly affected the young man.

It is clear that, based on Licht's book and the testimony of my interviewees, this period was not easy for anyone that lived in Philadelphia. In *Philadelphia Stories: A Photographic History, 1920-1960*, Miller, Vogel and Allen do a heartrendingly poignant job of capturing, via photo and prose, what the life of suffering looked like for those who lived through that era. The quote from page 43 is most emblematic of the impact of this period:

> The Great Depression owes it epic quality to the uncounted personal tragedies and acts of quiet heroism that marked the decade. No one could look far in a city as devastated as Philadelphia and avoid the fact of the Great Depression, but one might also be struck by how little—on the surface at least—the everyday lives of many citizens seemed to have changed. The city suffered in the 1930s, but many Philadelphians had already grown accustomed to hardship; some individuals even profited from the misfortune of the majority. Significant continuities linked Philadelphia of the 1930s with earlier decades. This had been and remained an immigrant city with an industrial economy. Neither fact promised easy lives…few in the industrial labor forces could reasonably expect to avoid layoffs altogether. These economic insecurities meant that many fathers and husbands could not expect to support their families on their own. More than in any other American industrial city, wives and children were forced to take jobs to help make ends meet.[4]

[4] Fredric Miller, Morris J Vogel, and Allen Freeman Davis, *Philadelphia Stories: A Photographic History, 1920-1960,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988, 43.

How common then was it that both Dr. and Mrs. Cooper worked and yet fortunate that they both had steady jobs in the life of young John and his brothers? Equally, there was suffering when Frankford Arsenal, Midvale Steel, and Baldwin Locomotive Works all had massive layoffs at the same time that Cramp's Shipyard closed and the US government shutdown projects at the Hog Island shipyard. Philadelphia, at the time nicknamed the "workshop of the world," was put out of work and the accustomed hardship Miller, Vogel and Allen mentioned returned for over 25,000 workers.[5]

This unemployment fell unevenly hard in Cooper's neighborhood however, as many as one in three were unemployed according to Bureau of Labor statistics from April 1929 while their mostly white and affluent neighborhoods surveyed during the same period saw zero unemployment and black Americans, with a specific focus on Philadelphia, were shown statistically to be suffering worst of all.[6] By 1932, South Philadelphia especially had been disproportionately decimated by the Great Depression and areas from Race Street north to Girard Ave. between the Delaware river and Fifth Street, and from the "Hoovervilles" of the jobless and foreclosed that littered along the Delaware River, and Schuylkill for that matter, to Eighth Street and from Lombard to Christian Street, the

[5] Ibid, 44.

[6] Ibid.

weight of the era was palpable[7]. For blacks, the only plight they seemed to avoid at this time was that of foreclosure due to their predominantly tenant status. The city's saving grace was that of industrial diversity. Steel, milling, textiles, coal, and manufacturing all took a hit but all limped along enough that the economy did not entirely collapse.

For the citizenry, the salvation of many neighborhoods came from the parks and churches many of which saw formation and expansion during this time because of the services and supports that they offered residents. During the latter years of the Depression and decades after, new technology entered the city where new jobs were found for old skillsets. Many returned to seasonal kinds of work and it was realized that personal security came in either service or schooling. In this social setting, as it was seen, nothing, not even banks and institutions, were a given. It is no surprise that military service and education were very common pursuits for many of the men and women who grew up during this time.

Most especially for African Americans after the Depression and the ensuing War, the calls for service to mankind and education were strong. World War II came and workshops were needed to provide supplies for new demands. Many Philadelphians answered the call back to work and so, the metropolis workshop was back in operation. The war projects and new industries which began during the end of the Depression and

[7] Ibid.

continued to surge through the 1950s would revitalize and reshape the city, reinvigorating the masses which had been demoralized and bringing new hope. It was this hope into which Cooper began his adult life and with which he shaped his world. Following the war period, the fight for civil rights would form and shape the city. It was the descendants of free blacks and those who migrated from the southern United States in the 1920s that settled in the city of Philadelphia, instead of the white former residents that fled to the suburbs in the 1950s[8] who mobilized to transform the city yet again, and continually, with the hope for better days for all people starting in the late 1960s and into the 70s. This is the history, legacy, and context of the city in which Cooper was born and learned to navigate. There was strife and opportunity, great struggle and great triumph.

The Life of Dr. John Cooper

John Dangerfield Cooper was born in 1922 to Dr. William Cooper, a local pharmacist, and Mrs. Willa Cooper, a local nurse and social worker by choice. His father instilled in him an early love for music and his mother an early love for humanity. Elder Dr. William Cooper, young John's father, made music education compulsory for all three of the boys from an early age and Mrs. Cooper operated an employment agency open to all from the family's home after her shifts at the hospital. His parents

[8] Ibid, 241.

were instrumental in this way in his early life. Both saw to it that young Cooper and his brothers were involved in their church which was a hub of human aid for their community. It was there that Cooper replaced his father and eldest brother as organist at the age of 12. His early piano studies were supervised by Russell Johnson and Joseph Lockett with Dr. Leo Ornstein preparing him for college. He studied organ with Kenneth Goodman, Dr. Maitland and Henry Booker. Despite securely middle-class status, his parents chose to educate all three sons, William, Joseph, and John, in the Philadelphia public school system. John graduated from Central High School and, after graduation, Cooper attended Lincoln University in Lincoln University Pennsylvania.

At Lincoln, Cooper was engaged in many activities and pursued a breadth of studies. He was able to engross himself in the studies of the fields of philosophy, English, theology and music to great depth. Following his graduation in 1947, he became a teaching fellow at Lincoln University teaching church music and aural skills combining his bachelor's degrees in music and theology. He left Lincoln's faculty to attend Lincoln seminary and later pursued graduate studies at the Lutheran Theological Seminary which resulted in a graduate degree from the Philadelphia Seminary and led to his Ordination to the Sacred Ministry. His studied at Combs Conservatory and finished completing his studies in 1953. Dr. Cooper was appointed to St. Barnabas parish in the second half of 1962 and remained there for five years after his

appointment. On March 11, 1968, Cooper led his young congregation at St. Barnabas into a racially integrated move with a large dying White Church at St. Luke's, which still exists as a congregation in Germantown Philadelphia to this day.[9]

While remaining active in the ministry at St. Luke's, Dr. Cooper continued to be active in the other areas of his educational training and interests. His employment and engagement outside of St. Luke's is varied and interesting. Dr. Cooper served as a teacher of English for Temple University High School, Chair of the English Department for FitzSimons Jr. HS in the Philadelphia School System; Executive Director of LaMott Community Center, was appointed by Philadelphia Mayor Richard Dilworth to the Council for Job Opportunities- a constituent agency of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, Director of Heritage House in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania and Christine Community Center in Wilmington, Delaware; Associate Professor of Music at Lincoln University and Professor of Music at Wilmington College. After his retirement from St. Luke's, Cooper served as Organist and/or Choirmaster for Canaan Baptist Church, Zion Baptist Church, Mt. Carmel Baptist Church St. Barnabas Episcopal Church, St. Matthews A.M.E. Church, St Augustine's Church of Philadelphia and Camden, N.J., and Hanover Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, Delaware. Cooper also founded and

[9] See Figure.B.2. and Figure.B.7. in Appendix B for notes from the honoree luncheon banquet at Pinn Memorial Baptist Church on March 19, 1998 honoring Dr. John Cooper.

directed the Little Symphony in the Germantown section of Philadelphia and Media Fellowship Choir in Media, PA.

Dr. Cooper served several community organizations as a volunteer, officer, or board member such as the National Association of Negro Musicians, National Association of Music Teachers, National Philosophical Association, Boy Scouts of America, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc., Opera North, and Pro Arts Society. Dr. Cooper also published literary works such as his book *The Historic Liturgy of the Eucharist* which was published by Lincoln University Press in 1950[10] and his paper *Social Welfare Forum: An Inner City Cultural Program* which was published for the National Conference on Social Welfare by Columbia University Press in 1972[11]; as well as his compositions *Lord I Have Seen and Arrangements of Twelve Spirituals* (1976); *Ballade for Violin and Piano, Ballade for two pianos* and *The Judi Songs* (1983); *The Unicorn and Elfin Song* (1986), *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimitis* (1986), and *Wissahickon Dawn* (1987) all with Dangerfield Music Company. Dr. Cooper was married to Mrs. Marilyn L. Newby Cooper from 1941 to 2001 and their union was honored with seven children (John Jr., Alvin, Carolyn, Barbara, Marc, Christopher, and Lydia) and five grandchildren. Dr.

---

[10] John Dangerfield Cooper, *The Historic Liturgy of the Eucharist*, Lincoln University Press, Lincoln University PA, 1950.

[11] John Dangerfield Cooper, *Social Welfare Forum: An Inner City Cultural Program*, National Conference on Social Welfare, Columbia University Press, New York and London, 1972.

Cooper died in 2006 at Chestnut Hill Hospital with loving family and friends attending him.[12]

The Social Context of Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper

The social context that birthed and molded Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper is deeply rooted the history of the United States' social developmental progress and in the immediate locality and chronology of his nativity. In order to properly understand the ramifications and influential forces of Dr. Cooper's immediate locality, he must be seen in the broader social context of American society. At the same time that he was coming of age, several African American's were waging battle in the field of music that would afford a landing zone for the wave of creativity and innovation in Cooper's generation and those to come.

Florence Price, William Grant Still, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, R. Nathaniel Dett, and Roland Hayes are all examples of African American composers who paved the way for Dr. Cooper and his contemporaries like Margaret Allison Bonds and Ulysses Simpson Kay. It is well known and documented that unique representations of identity and artistic voice are constructed and preserved, with great power, in the works of musical composers. This effect on the music's audience was such that the composer could affect and influence them profoundly and lastingly. This

[12] Sally Downer, "John D. Cooper, 83, musician, minister" *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 01 02, 2006, http://articles.philly.com/2006-01-02/news/25410977_1_sacred-music-music-director-and-organist-inquirer (accessed March 24, 2015).

power is documented in the Affektenlehre[13], or doctrine of the affections in English, and was widely accepted as early as the Baroque period by music theorists and composers.[14] This documented power and respect is unquestioningly given to European composers such as Schubert, Schumann, and Wolf, Strauss, and Mahler. All of these men are renowned for using art music and the art song genre specifically as a vehicle to convey and memorialize their artistic voices to great effect following the same baroque doctrinal reasoning. African American composers, such as Price, Still, Coleridge-Taylor, Dett and Hayes, however were not given this same respect often despite also using the same musical genres to great effect to influence the affect and emotions of their audience. Not only had they mastered the European aesthetic, but they expanded upon and furthered this same tradition since the early 20th century as had their ancestors beginning between 1750 and 1777.[15]

Unfortunately, their works were not received with the same level of broad notoriety or high regard of their European predecessors or contemporaries. Upon inspection of the work product and personal papers and considering the generational impact and legacy of many of

---

[13] Frederick T. Wessel, *The Affehtenlehre In the Eighteenth Century,* Thesis (Ph.D.), Indiana University, 1955.

[14] George J. Buelow, "Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections: A Selective Bibliography," *Notes* 30, no. 2 (1973): 250-59. doi:10.2307/895972.

[15] Raymond Wise, "Defining African American gospel music by tracing its historical and musical development from 1900 to 2000," Electronic Thesis or Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2002, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/, 11.

the African American artists listed above, the true basis for their marginalization seems to be attributed to their color and not to their respective craftsmanship. William Grant Still's critics, as Catherine Parson Smith points out in her 1997 article in *American Music*, centered their remarks around indications and demonization of his racial identity from his earliest musical presentations in the 1920s and continued to print the same vein of criticisms centered around his race and what they perceived to be his vernacular musical choices despite his success and notoriety in the late 1940s.[16] Smith states:

> Early in 1925, for example, New York Times critic Olin Downes scolded Still for experimenting with modernist effects-and this by implication abandoning Downes's expectations: "Is Mr. Still unaware that the cheapest melody in the revues he has orchestrated has more reality and inspiration in it than the curious noises he has manufactured?" Downes's expectations of "exotic folksong and popular rhythms" in his reviews of the 1949 production of *Troubled Island* are a much later expression of the same practice.

It is clear that, with no compositional critique, the reviewer instead attacked Still for the music he produced which was true to the context and musical language most natural to him.

Florence Price also noted that her own struggles were manifested due to both her race and sex despite her spectacular education at the New England Conservatory and the Chicago Musical College and prize-

---

[16] Catherine Parsons Smith. "Harlem Renaissance Man" Revisited: The Politics of Race and Class in William Grant Still's Late Career. *American Music,* Vol. 15, No. 3 (Autumn, 1997)381-406. University of Illinois Press. Http/www.jstor.org/stage/3052330.

winning status as an American composer. In her 1943 letter to Sergei Koussevitzky, the then conductor of the Boston Symphony Orchestra, in which she asked him to consider performing her music, Price herself wrote "To begin with, I have two handicaps — those of sex and race. I am a woman; and I have Negro blood in my veins.[17] Unfortunately, the work of a woman composer is preconceived by many to be light, froth, lacking in depth, logic and virility. Add to that the incident of race —I have Colored blood in my veins— and you will understand some of the difficulties that confront one in such a position." [18]

By writing so directly about these subjects in her letter, Price brought to the forefront the disparities of access and acceptance of diverse expressions of voice, culture and identity in the art music arena in hopes to gain entry on the merits her of craftsmanship. If not for her stated handicaps, this would be a reasonable request given her chosen discourse engagement vehicle. The proof of this, though many years overdue, is the pursuing of the rights to publisher her catalog by a venerable publisher. As detailed in the November 25, 2018 issue of the New York Times, G. Schirmer, Inc. made the investment in her works so many others scorned. Had Price, Still, Bonds, Kay and countless others

---

[17] Florence B. Price, *Florence Price Symphonies Nos. 1 and 2,* ed. Rae Linda Brown and Wayne Shirley, vol. 19, *Music of the United States of America* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2008), xxxv.

[18] Cooper, Michael. "A Rediscovered African-American Female Composer Gets a Publisher." *Nytimes.com.* November 15, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/15/arts/music/florence-price-music-publisher-schirmer.html?smprod=nytcore-ipad&smid=nytcore-ipad-share.

lived in a time where their music was not judged first on the color of the creator, the classical canon of art music, and discourse therein, would certainly have included them based on their achievements during their lifetime and been richer for it. The presence, or lack, of cultural indications in their musical discourse would have been seen and understood as attributes of their musical style and heard as part of their compositional voice instead of as detractors from the quality of the discourse.

Art music as a vehicle for musical discourse and dissemination of a composer's voice is seen with the dawn of the audience focused concert tradition beginning in Beethoven's time and continuing to the present; the curation of the compositional voice and cultivation of audience through musical discourse has proven no more poignant than is evidenced and exploited most effectively in the pairings with evocative texts found in art songs. This combination of text and music is the essential combination at the root of the art song genre. Whether the combination is capturing vignettes of love, faith and family, bringing hope to a world-weary people or speaking out against the dehumanization of an entire ethnicity, the art song genre has proven to be a reliable and effective vehicle for these communications of both identity and culture throughout history and across nationalities. That is why it drew the likes of Price and Still and all those who would follow in their footsteps. Cooper, as one who followed, experienced similar racial

issues as Florence Price, William Grant Still, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor, Nathaniel Dett, and Roland Hayes had in their time. These experiences, among others, influenced the shaping of his musical approaches and ethical philosophies. The impact of these experiences is evidenced beginning in his childhood and continues through adulthood.

The city and society that birthed Dr. Cooper experienced several periods of development and change during his lifetime. The surrounding population of South Philadelphia in the 1920s when Dr. Cooper was a child was one of factories and booming industry, plagued by organized crime and scourged by the ravages of the depression for those in the lower economic classes.[19] As a child living in South Philadelphia, Dr. Cooper grew up in a predominantly African American neighborhood but was fortunate to have examples of intersectional human empathy thanks to the example he witnessed watching his mother run her employment agency for all: unemployed African Americans as well as Irish, Scottish, German, Polish, Puerto Rican and even Italian immigrants alike could be seen coming from their home after and between her shifts as a nurse at the local hospital.[20] In this way, Cooper and his brothers were overtly told and subversively taught to care for their fellow man and to use all of their gifts for the betterment of those around them. Because of this, the

[19] Anne Margaret Anderson and John J. Binder. *Philadelphia Organized Crime in the 1920s and 1930s*. Charleston, SC: Arcadia Publishing, 2014.

[20] Naomi Dobson, interview by author, 3 March 2012, live interview, Philadelphia, PA.

Cooper boys grew up to be civilly-minded citizens who served the communities, both within their social circles and across the country through military service, See Figure.C.3., and would go on to become pillars in their communities.

In addition to their levels of involvement and engagement coupled with the family's educational and social pedigree, people like Marian Anderson, Sylvia Olden Lee, Charles Pettaway and others who would go on to become local icons of Philadelphia and major influencers in their fields, would become family friends with the Coopers, collaborate with them on projects and even perform their music in such venues as soirées at the apartment of Gian Carlo Menotti and recitals at Carnegie Hall.[21] Bill and Samuel Cosby were even associates of the Cooper's, acquaintances that, along with the likes of Booker Rowe and Jules Kunstler of the Philadelphia Orchestra, would serve to be socially prudent when John later established himself in the Germantown and Mt. Airy sections of the city as an adult.

Cooper not only was employed and socialized in various echelons of society but he served and struggled in them as well. His heart for service began young as he worked with his mother for/with the disenfranchised with an especially keen eye focused on the plight of

[21] Blanche Burton-Lyles, interview by author. 05, January 2013, phone interview about 1950s and 60s w/ M. Anderson playing and singing W. Cooper Beatitudes. Philadelphia, PA.

African Americans job opportunities. He would go on to Lincoln become a part of the "imposing record of scholarship, service and cultural achievement" there as a member of the Lion yearbook, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Philosophy Club, Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc. (AΦA), and member of the committee that brought the esteemed performers Marian Anderson and Carol Brice as well as former US Secretary of Interior Henry LeClair Ickes to Lincoln University in 1946[22]. After graduating and working at Lincoln, Cooper continued to pour into his communities aside from his employment and his community service as a member of AΦA, the NAACP, National Association of Negro Musicians (NANM) and Boy Scouts of America among others.

The service he gave to these organizations alone, however, is striking and an examination of the mission statement of each organization will make this plain. Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity, Inc. develops leaders, promotes brotherhood and academic excellence, while providing service and advocacy for our communities and the objectives of this Fraternity shall be: to stimulate the ambition of its members; to prepare them for the greatest usefulness in the causes of humanity, freedom, and dignity of the individual; to encourage the highest and noblest form of manhood; and to aid down-trodden humanity in its

[22] Lincoln University, *The 1947 Lion* (Lincoln University, PA: 1947), 60, Lincoln University Digital Archives, http://www.lincoln.edu/library/Yrbook-pdfs/Yearbook_1947.pdf, accessed on 12 October, 2018.

efforts to achieve higher social, economic and intellectual status.[23] The mission of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is to secure the political, educational, social, and economic equality of rights in order to eliminate race-based discrimination and ensure the health and well-being of all persons.[24] The mission and vision of the Boy Scouts of America, at the time Cooper served in them, was to prepare young men to make ethical and moral choices over their lifetimes by instilling in them the values of the Scout Oath and Law.[25]

Given these mission statements, it is not any wonder that Cooper's commitment to service for the communities to which he felt connected led him to serve them in various capacities. As another further form of service, Cooper also formed the Friends of Music society at St. Luke's Episcopal Church of Germantown to enhance the lives of the young men in the men and boys choir which was one of the two choirs that served his congregation during his tenure there.[26] Cooper saw a need for the boys to have access to a more substantial music education curriculum

---

[23] Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc., https://apa1906.net/, (accessed March 24, 2015).

[24] National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, https://www.naacp.org/about-us/, (accessed March 24, 2015).

[25] Boy Scouts of America. 1998. *Boy Scout handbook*. Irving, TX: Boys Scouts of America.

[26] Margaret White Palmer, interview by author, 3 March 2012, telephone interview, Philadelphia, PA.

and he made a way to raise money for a camp and curriculum that would provide such an opportunity.

Cooper was one who made ways and means, and worked tirelessly towards the aims and for the things in which he believed. Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper dreamed a big dream, and lived in a full world. According to the accounts of his friends, he was not one to be concerned with the various trifling administrations in life but instead cast broad vision for himself and for the communities of which he was a part. For instance, Cooper did not get to have his music published outside of his own family's company until the opportunity to publish in the African American Heritage Hymnal and the Lift Every Voice and Sing hymnals. They published his hymn *Lord I Have Seen Thy Salvation* in the 1980s despite having composed it and other works decades earlier. This was because he fully embraced a sound world that was not devoid of any of the portions of his culture and identity making it hard for him to fit into a box. He did not bemoan this, however, but instead continued to produce the works from within himself which he knew to be necessary.

It is true that Cooper was a traditionalist in many ways, but his artistic self-expression was fashioned after a new, class fluent tradition. The Harlem Renaissance died in the 1930s, due at least in part to classism, however the cultural Renaissance in Chicago flourished because had more harmony between the classes of black people making their cultures were less dissimilar. Philadelphia, much like Chicago, was

also more harmonious between classes of black people which kept the influence of the Renaissance alive. Cooper's musical output reflects this influence and a male dominant bent that is described in Locke[27], Miller, Vogel and Davis' writings.[28] That the broader American society had yet to truly accept egalitarian roles for men and women was immaterial to Cooper. As his love songs will show, he loved, cherished and respected his wife as an equal partner. This is evident in the intermingling of his Western and diasporic aesthetics akin to the "New Negro" archetypical framework.

Cooper and his music had a place in that society and he, along with his music, were welcomed there. He took the crucial steps to utilize his own publishing company to get works produced instead of struggling with the monstrosity of the American publishing industry. Understanding Cooper's involvement in NANM also is critical here. Cooper's involvement in NANM meant that he was able to become friends with not just local celebrities such as Marian Anderson, and Leontyne Price but Carol Brice, Robert McFerrin, Sylvia Olden Lee, and other luminaries in the African American classical music arena who would also become orbital figures in his social stratosphere. Cooper was a traditionalist in presentation, pedigree and education but he enjoyed a

---

[27] Alain Locke, and Charles Molesworth. *The Works of Alain Locke.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pg 442-451.

[28], Fredric Miller, Morris J Vogel, and Allen Freeman Davis, *Philadelphia Stories: A Photographic History, 1920-1960,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

culturally diverse and rich private life because of his abilities and fluencies in many languages and disciplines beginning as far back as high school.

These fluencies extended to his writings as a poet and also a philosopher. These theories were also certainly essential to Cooper as an English teacher and as a black man navigating a white man's world. It is known that Cooper knew the writings and works of W.E.B. DuBois, Booker T Washington, Carter G. Woodson, Paul Lawrence Dunbar and Langston Hughes as an English teacher, poet and philosopher himself. The theories and works produced by these minds during the Harlem Renaissance would certainly have been a part of his education and social context as an alumnus of Lincoln University, member of Alpha Phi Alpha, NAACP, and the Philosophy Club. Thus suggesting that he would not only know about the theories of double-consciousness, the new negro, and the miseducation of the negro to name a few but he would be living, producing and curating his existence in such a way that he would enact these phenomenon in his life and even make them manifest in the life of his children. This is evident in the stalwartly middle-class mindedness that he possessed, his self-conception as equal and deserving of the requisite legal standing and the equivalent opportunities for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness granted and guaranteed for all citizens. In so doing, he was challenging and upsetting the social hierarchy of the country much like Alain LeRoy Locke and W.E.B. DuBois had in their

writings and actions in Cooper's childhood.[29] [30] Cooper taught all he encountered, like he had undoubtedly been taught, to craft and to strive in this way as a matter of identity and birthright, self-esteem and dignity so as never to come upon basic human decency by happenstance.[31]

Knowing these associations as well as his employment history are instructive and vital to constructing even a partial framework through which Cooper's works can be viewed. Without knowing these things, it is impossible to see how his early life clearly affected the trajectory of his middle and later life and to conceive a through line of identity which informs a hypothesis of compositional voice, artifacts and crumbs. His commitment to service shines like a light hidden under a woven basket in a dark room when set in his life's context of subversion and challenge to old stereotypes of blackness and his music as a vehicle to communicate this falls seamlessly into step. Dr. Cooper clearly struggled as a, for, and with the disenfranchised African Americans of his time but, he also found or created opportunities to persevere and overcome thanks to the lessons and philosophies he learned. In order to see these lessons and philosophies, you must consider all those who benefitted from Cooper's strivings. These strivings and philosophies led to fortuitous

---

[29] Alain Locke, and Charles Molesworth. *The Works of Alain Locke.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pg 442-451.

[30] W.E.B. Du Bois, and Randall Kenan. *The Souls of Black Folk*. New York: Signet Classic, 2003.

[31] Andrea Jones Sojola, interview by author, 19 March 2013, phone interview, New York, NY.

opportunities that were the foundation upon which Cooper built his life and composed his musical works. His output serves as an example of summation. He was a renaissance, jack of all trades type of man but he mastered many things. Cooper was an exemplar of these philosophies he was taught applied to a man's life and lived to the fullest.

Chapter 3: Behind the Mask: Double Consciousness and the Music of Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper

> *To be a Negro in this country and to be relatively conscious, is to be in a rage almost all the time. So that the first problem is how to control that rage so that it won't destroy you*
> —James Baldwin[1]

In the art music of a man as well aware of the social and political station of African American people in the early 20th century American urban environment as was Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper, it is a relative certainty that an analyst might find, at the very least, allusions to the realities of black life because survival from his birth through the zenith of his creative powers required an incredibly delicate curation of the public persona for people of color. The realities of black life, being an integral part of his life to the point of subconscious operation would mean that it would be manifest in the creations of that subconscious. How can one conclude such a thing with certainty about another? The deductions of sociologist, theorist, and esteemed author W.E.B Dubois makes this plain.

W.E.B Dubois was the sociologist, theorist, and author who described life for blacks in America with a transparency and detailed depth previously unheard of in his 1903 publication *Souls of Black Folk.*[2]

---

[1] James Baldwin, Emile Capouya, Lorraine Hansberry, Nat Hentoff, Langston Hughes and Alfred Kzin, "The Negro in American Culture," *CrossCurrents* 11, no. 3 (1961): 205.

[2] W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Candace Ward and Stanley Applebaum, 1994 reprint, Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1903.

In it, he chronicles and explains the state and worldview of life for the early 20th Century African American and provides a window, via meticulous dissection of the psyche, into this existence. He also critiques the model for social change espoused by fellow social theorist Booker T. Washington. This innovative collection of DuBois' essays from previous periodicals gave a scathing rebuff to Washington's theories that economic prosperity and resulting bootstrap social mobility would eradicate the remaining racial divide in America. This theory is one which says if you work hard to be economically successful, you can essentially buy yourself a better life and justify yourself by those works and results instead of justification for your personhood. DuBois, instead of focusing on dodging the 'color line' - racial divide in American society- sought to interrogate its root and investigate the functioning issue which still stands as a major impediment towards progress in our modern society. Whether it is what has been referred to as anti-blackness, in modern terms, Jim Crow from the Civil Rights era, or just plain racism, the color line has existed and still exists in American society.

DuBois introduces his concept of double consciousness from the outset as he lays out his approach in his section titled "The Forethought." This sociological framing makes clear his mission:

> Leaving, then, the world of white man, I stepped within the Veil, raising it that you may view faintly its deeper recesses, -

> the meaning of its religion, the passion of its human sorrow, and the struggle of its greater souls.[3]

He indeed begins this volume with the introduction of the Veil conceptually, and, in chapter one, goes on to discuss it in detail. This Veil is the post-enslavement societal lens through which black people are viewed and must view themselves in America across the various color lines of the society. This lens is one that demands a suppression of the true selves — infer here true souls — of black folk and transmute their experiences such that they may endure the dehumanizations and traumas enacted upon them daily by a world which despises them. The vilification and required psychological distance for survival result in people who operate at simultaneous strata of reality and identity because, otherwise, the prevailing legacy of chattel slavery, at least mentally, in America would be crippling.

To this end, DuBois speaks to this stratification of the psyche and states that "one ever feels his two-ness, —an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder."[4] DuBois' theory shows us that the subconscious operation of these two selves is a certainty for survival and that it is a constant presence meaning that there is no creation of work without the influence

---

[3] Ibid., v.

[4] Ibid., 2.

of the duality of "two souls, two thoughts [and] two unreconciled strivings." What then is the remedy? What is the end goal of this stratified psyche? DuBois says "this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self"[5] is the natural inclination and remedy for black people.

Unfortunately for Cooper, this kind of merger was not possible during the bulk of his lifetime except through his music. In his life, it is certain that he had to engage in a double consciousness of existence in the forms of codeswitching, effacing, self-deprecation, etc. for survival and navigation through broader American society. Codeswitching, the linguistic shifting of vocabulary, vernacular and even syntactical communication paradigms between people groups[6], would have been a prevalent sociolinguistic feature in the life of Dr. Cooper, as it was in the life of many black Americans at that time and remains to this day. This is because it was how he would survive the workplace and public scrutiny required for his jobs e.g. teaching, working at the mayor's office, as well as appropriately operating in the black community which he called home. It allowed him to fit in and be "one of us" with each crowd

---

[5] Ibid., 2.

[6] Carol Myers-Scotton, "Common and Uncommon Ground: Social and Structural Factors in Codeswitching," Language in Society, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Dec., 1993): 475-503, Cambridge University Press.

Carol Myers-Scotton is a socioilinguist whose Markedness Model describes the social indexical motivation for code-switching and acknowledges the conscious and strategic choice of the speaker in employing this communicative modality. This is essential in understanding that the employment of this linguistic mechanism by a speaker is an evaluation of their audience with regard to the rights, obligations, and constraints of the society in which the communication is transpiring.

and appease one of the two warring souls within his single black body. Cooper's effacing or self-deprecation would come as a means of showing humility but also as a method of deweaponizing himself in white society. He was clearly a very capable man, and by some standards a genius, but a black man who was highly capable was a threat to the status quo of post-enslavement America and, as such, faced the choice to exercise deference and lower himself or face annihilation. His choice was to preserve his life and be effective with whatever agency he possessed so he channeled this true self into his music and operated in double consciousness.

This social doubleness can be extended to an expectation of a musical double consciousness. Due to the sociological and societal demands, aside from his own necessary psychological operation, this is especially reasonable. Writing music which spoke to the masses without them embracing its cultural relevance and doubly conscious operation for the black community in America would be difficult but necessary for it was a necessity relevant to survival in the mid-century. Just as spirituals, which were produced during physical enslavement, contained coded messages that demonstrated forms of codeswitching and signifyin(G), the musical practices Cooper would produce through the periods of segregation and racism in the mid-20th century also carried those same tropes. These serve as artifacts of his heritage, because the practice would be known to him from his studies, especially of sacred

black music, and manifest themselves for preservation in the pages of his compositions. It is through DuBois' sociological focus and personal perspective that we can see this psychological practice in operation in African Americans like Cooper.

For deeper understanding, the context of DuBois' work is also important. His scholarship in this area was monumental and seminal at a time when emancipation, anti-lynching and the accommodationism of Booker T. Washington were the prevalent topics beginning to circulate in the urban centers. His writings on these subjects focusing on consciousness and the psychological operations behind the Veil were unique and illuminating at a time of great darkness. It is this understanding of the psychological state — the internal discord of black people due to the attempted reconciliation of American citizenry and America's rejection of their own humanity — and the toll taken that makes this philosophical explication all the more formidable. This crisis of conscious was no more poignant than for the black artist. They too had to live life behind the Veil in order to survive despite feeling that their purpose in life was too push through it and expose themselves. True artists don't cooperate, or go along with the flow because art is a cultural mirror and critique and the artist's job is to ask the hard questions and provide the catalysts for change. However, in order to survive, instead of pushing against the status quo and ripping the Veil, the desire to create art that was truly communicative, richly explicit and

authentic often was met with the realities of a white hegemonic and supremacist society which required the sublimating and effacing of one's self to a moderated temperament.

Viewing the Veil: Historical Context of Double Consciousness Theories

Because of this required sublimation, the lived experiences of the composer had to become covert instead of overt, and the Veil of public society became the Veil of the private canvas. In order to properly view the Veil through this musical canvas, there are many works, biographical and analytical in nature, that demonstrate, explore, and excoriate the application of this paradoxical paradigm. In order to address this issue specifically for the artist, as well as to gain socio-historical context, it is important to also consider the lives of Cooper's artistic contemporaries who engaged this directly. Duke Ellington and Roland Hayes fit this requirement well and their very public lives provide fodder for this purpose. Ellington's own autobiography, *Music Is My Mistress,* and Jennifer Hildrebrand's article on Roland Hayes from the 2010 *Black Music Research Journal*[7] will provide good sources for consideration as these two men's lives as subjects are good foils because they crossed the secular and classical genres as did Cooper. This straddling required

[7] Jennifer Hildebrand, "Two Souls, Two Thoughts, Two Inreconciled Strivings': The Sound of Double Consciousness in Roland Haye's Early Career," Black Music Research Journal 30, no. 2 (2010): 273-302.

these men had to navigate with surgical precision which presents a unique dilemma of duality.

Scholar Frantz Fanon describes and explores this necessity and dilemma of duality by calling it a mask and not a veil. In either case, it is a mechanism of separation. Before we approach DuBois' Veil in the lives of Ellington, Hayes, and Cooper, we must make sense of Fanon's mask. Frantz Fanon's *Black Skin, White Masks,* via psychoanalysis, outlines the mental health perils of the formerly enslaved Africans in America and the peril's root causes.

> The black man has two dimensions. One with his fellows, the other with the white man. A Negro behaves differently with a white man and with another Negro. That this self-division is a direct result of colonialist subjugation is beyond question…No one would dream of doubting that its major artery is fed from the heart of those various theories that have tried to prove that the Negro is a stage in the slow evolution of monkey into man. Here is objective evidence that expresses reality. But when one bas taken cognizance of this situation, when one has understood it, one considers the job completed. How can one then be deaf to that voice rolling down the stages of history: "What matters is not to know the world but to change it."
>
> This matters appallingly in our lifetime [8]

The fact that this analysis is so strikingly close to DuBois' own acerbic examination is no coincidence. The aligning of these two explanations of the same cultural phenomenon show how true the other is. As does DuBois, Fanon speaks to the myths of racial hierarchy and

[8] Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, trans. Charles Lam Markmann, 1st Evergreen (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1968) 17.

labels them neuroses. In so doing, he finds them only as vacuous truths and eviscerates the institutional, systematic, and societal toxin of racism of our begrimed society. Fanon has, as a native of Antilles and inhabitant of the colonially occupied Martinique, a cultural perspective on the effects of colonization which exists with requirement for comparative self-evaluation against a metric of otherness establish by an empirical societal power. Despite this similarity of circumstance, because the legacy of chattel slavery is absent for Fanon, his view of the African American life is particularly clear as is often the case with a non-native analytical perspective. He begins with a discussion of linguistic variance as a social camouflaging technique in his first chapter "The Black Man and Language" and immediately hits on what we now call codeswitching. This is because what Fanon discussing, and what is known in modernity as codeswitching, is the intentional practice of shifting linguistic vocabulary, vernacular, and even syntactical communication paradigms between people groups by a speaker. Fanon says that blacks learn to speak two forms of English — one English intended specifically for other black folk and the other which is curated for non-black folk — to assure acceptance by the majority culture which, in Fanon and the African American's case, is established by white colonizers. He explores this with a story and then an analysis.

> The Negro arriving in France will react against the myth of the *R*-eating man from Martinique. He will become aware of it, and ·he will really go to war against it. He will practice not

> only rolling his *R* but embroidering it. Furtively observing the slightest reactions of others, listening to his own speech, suspicious of his own tongue — a wretchedly lazy organ — he will lock himself into his room and read aloud for hours — desperately determined to learn *diction*.
>
> Recently an acquaintance told me a story. A Martinique Negro landed at Le Havre and. went into a bar. With the utmost self-confidence he called, "Waite*rrr*! Bring me a beeya." Here is a genuine intoxication. Resolved not to fit the myth of the nigger-who-eats his-*R*s, he had acquired a fine supply of them but allocated it badly. [9]

Here is a clear demonstration of the psychological need to codeswitch within a black space and it provides a necessary view under the masking of black life behind the Veil of consciousness. This man, due to his intoxication, was self-aware enough that he felt it necessary to speak to his waiter in this exaggerated way in order to eschew the stereotype and constrain himself to his alternatively white-pleasing existence. He was so against association with the “myth of the *R*-eating man from Martinique” that he consciously codes his language to curate his identity in that Le Havre bar. This is especially poignant to observe because, as Fanon’s expressive behavioral analysis reveals, the use of these markers in communicative discourse and expressive mediums serves the purpose of sociological and societal definition. This leads to pressing and poignant questions about other forms of expressive discourse. Such as, if the man in such an intoxicating place still finds it necessary to codeswitch in order to remove the mask and express

[9] Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, trans. Charles Lam Markmann, 1st Evergreen (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1968) 21.

himself, how much more will the sober artist find this necessity present within themselves? When navigating the Western classical musical standards set out by majority (white) culture, is it possible that the interweaving and imbuing of musical topics from the black perspective by black composers is an expression of musical codeswitching —because music is a language and codeswitching is a linguistic phenomenon— and possibly even an assertion of cultural validation?

These and other discussions regarding the psychological motivations of a communicator as viewed through the lens of Fanon provide a foundation for the discussion and exploration of aural double consciousness especially and specifically in music which necessitates codeswitching as a communicative technique. Fanon goes on to point out that this is not just a linguistic technique employed by blacks to be acceptable to white society, but is also executed by whites in their communications with black people. He says “talking to Negros in this way gets down to their level, it puts them at ease, it is an effort to make them understand us, it reassures them.” Fanon takes this stance regarding communication trends based on compared examples of observed conversations between white doctors and their patients.

> 1. "Oh, I know the blacks. They must be spoken to kindly; talk to them about their country; it’s all in knowing how to talk to them. For instance ... Talking to Negroes in this way gets down to their level, it puts them at ease, it is an effort to make them understand us, it reassures them…
>
> The physicians of the public health services know this very well. Twenty European patients, one after another, come in:

> "Please sit down … Why do you wish to consult me? … What are your symptoms?…Then comes a Negro or an Arab: "Sit there, boy … What's bothering you? … Where does it hurt, huh? …" When, that is, they do not say: "You not feel good, no?"
>
> 2. To speak pidgin to a Negro makes him angry, because he himself is a pidgin-nigger-talker. But, I will be told, there is no wish, no intention to anger him. I grant this; but it is just this absence of wish, this lack of interest, this indifference, this automatic manner of classifying him, imprisoning him, primitivizing him, decivilizing him, that makes him angry.
>
> If a man who speaks pidgin to a man of color or an Arab does not see anything wrong or evil in such behavior, it is because he has never stopped to think.[10]

This conversation excerpt shows, in stark detail, the variation in speech and the curation and curtailing of the linguistic patterns of the doctors based on interactions with patients from dominant culture and minority culture. This is not to say that Fanon believes this to be a patronizing communicative paradigm, but it instead shows that there is even an understanding of the mask and the Veil behind it for those who communicate across color lines in dominant culture. Fanon's work, therefore, is essential to truly grasping the purpose, importance, and function of musical topics and semiotics in analytical practices for the answers they give, and, more importantly, the questions they allow.

Fanon takes DuBois' analysis a step further. By adding the critique that black people perpetrate self-policing via superiority reinforcement according to the former oppressors established standards as a means of

[10] Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks, trans. Charles Lam Markmann, 1st Evergreen (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1968) 31-32

reinforcing the slavery and colonization mindset much like the "crabs in a barrel" mentality phenomenon in anthropology, Fanon echoes another famous black cultural philosopher, Carter G. Woodson, and his observations from his insightful treatise *The Mis-Education of the Negro.* In this volume, Woodson outlines how the indoctrination, instead of education, of blacks at his time led to an expectation and acceptance of a lower societal station. He writes:

> When you control a man's thinking you do not have to worry about his actions. You do not have to tell him not to stand here or go yonder. He will find his 'proper place' and will stay in it. You do not need to send him to the back door. He will go without being told. In fact, if there is no back door, he will cut one for his special benefit. His education makes it necessary.
>
> The same educational process which inspires and stimulates the oppressor with the thought that he is everything and has accomplished everything worthwhile, depresses and crushes at the same time the spark of genius in the Negro by making him feel that his race does not amount to much and never will measure up to the standards of other peoples. The Negro thus educated is a hopeless liability of the race.[11]

Fanon and Woodson both see the legacy of subordinate status as tied to the heinous inheritance of enslavement. All three men's writings concur on something even more striking, however; each speaks to the phenomenon of the Veil and self-identity through the eyes of white oppression's glasses but only DuBois speaks to it by name. They also see

---

[11] *Carter Godwin Woodson, The Mis-Education of the Negro.* Washington, D.C.: Associated publishers, 1933, *21.*

and speak to the self-policing within the oppressed community and reinforcing of white superiority tropes as consequences of the heinous inheritance of black bondage. It is this phenomenon which is the symptom of the institutional, systematic, and societal ailment which Fanon calls the white mask. DuBois, Fanon, and Woodson, as products of a colonized community/society, see the same need for comparison against the white superiority trope and the endangering of selfhood and validation within the community as a means of protecting and enacting the crabs in a barrel mentality. Each acknowledges this peculiarity of black psychology and calls for a moderation of the behavior for the sake of perseverance. This moderation results in their self-educational necessity in the form of the Veil or the white mask. However, only Woodson and Fanon suggest steps forward that circumvent the worth and evaluation of self via white societal standards.

By removing the mask, and going behind the Veil, we can now discover the historical and contextual significances of double consciousness for the Black musical artist in the mid-20th century and observe the various perpetrations of it in their life's work. This observation in the works of Black musical artists is especially pressing for our study of John Dangerfield Cooper. He left no autobiography, aside from that which is captured in his musical manuscripts, so his own introspections regarding his expressions and self-awareness of consciousness are not easily constructed. In order to understand how he

might have observed his own consciousness, we look to artists like Roland Hayes and Duke Ellington who were his contemporaries. Each man, in his own autobiographical introspection spoke to their curations of comportment and, thus, point out their own executions of double consciousness. Roland Hayes, famed lyric tenor and composer, found his executions of curated blackness in analysis of the physical execution of his singing elocution and Ellington in his self-analysis regarding his motivations for choosing Jazz as his genre for primary musical agency expression.

Jennifer Hildebrand, in her article exploring Hayes' early career, points to a moment of self-realization that Hayes recounts from a breakfast conversation he had with his mother.

> When he breakfasted with his mother the next morning, he asked her "whether she thought it was possible that there really was something unusual in my voice, something that the voices of white people did not have" — whether she thought "that I have been trying to turn myself into a white artist, instead of making the most of what I was born with…" He recognized that "I had been suffering from a racial habit of [consciousness curation via] imitation…" Concomitant with this realization came a vow: "I swore I would use the 'rich purplish red' voice that Nature had given me."[12]

Roland Hayes, the highest paid tenor in his time, saw that he was not executing and achieving his accomplishments by the sheer gifting of his voice but by a manipulation of it. This was a pivotal point for him where he became aware of his behavior curation wearing Fanon's white mask

[12] Hildebrand, 284.

and living behind DuBois Veil. His vow that morning in Santa Monica to use his "rich purplish red voice" is an example of the artist Hayes finding freedom and agency, in and through his work, to present his true self to the public.

Duke Ellington's own autobiography shows us another example of the black musician contending with the ideas of consciousness. He broached the subject to give us a glimpse into the psyche behind the Veil on the aural canvas.

> To some people around the world, jazz is music of the people who are privileged to live in a land with mountains of gold, rivers of oil, billions of bushels of surplus food, and freedom of expression. It's not unlawful to sing or play *any* kind of music in the United States of America, no matter how good or bad it sounds. Jazz is based on the sound of our native heritage. It is an American idiom with African roots-a trunk of soul with limbs reaching in every direction, to the frigid North, the exotic East, the miserable, swampy South, and the swinging Wild West.[13]

It is apparent when you consider this excerpt that Ellington lived a well-curated, American life despite his African heritage. He surely found his place in jazz due to his acumen and also because he saw it as a placable platform in what would have been an otherwise impossible existence. This place of placability is essential to note because, as Eileen Southern observed in her review of the book, "a great deal of essential data is missing…nowhere in the book is a hint of the pain Ellington must have

[13] Edward Kennedy Ellington, *Music is my Mistress*, (New York: Doubleday & company, Inc., 1973) 436.

experienced."[14] The pain is nowhere explicit but, just as with the analysis of the musical semiotics, I believe that it can be found implicitly in the words of Ellington's writings. As a man who lived his life in the public eye and sustained a career of over 50 years, Ellington was a master at playing the game of hide and seek with wearing the mask and Veiling himself. However, in the quote above he does make certain to note the misery of the south, which holds Black America's heritage of humiliation, struggle and progress. One might come to this conclusion since his description of that region is the only one which has two adjectives. There is not time or space in the scope of this work to investigate this matter further, however, just as careful in towing the line as Ellington was, this passage hints, he was also, as Baldwin said, "in a rage almost all the time."

This is especially probable when it is taken into consideration that Ellington states in this same volume, that his truest works were his serious, and not popular, compositions. His symphony, other classical-leaning works, and sacred concerts, for which he was maligned and, ridiculed publicly for trying to perform proximal whiteness as Grant Still had been before, were those things most near and dear to his heart. However, because of the demands of his station and the necessities of survival, he had to tuck his hurt away behind the Veil and soldier

[14] Eileen Southern, "Reviewed Work: Music is My Mistress," *The Black Perspective in Music,* 2, no. 2 (1974): 211-212.

onward. This is a path and pain that Cooper shared. Curtailing and curating himself so that he could be pastor, politician and papa, to name a few, was a balance that surely brought with it pain and suffering to which those around him would have been unaware. Due to its mandated nature of subtlety, the question bares asking, how then do we deduce examples of this double consciousness, identity artifacts or cultural crumbs in the aural and analytical digestion of musical discourse? This is achieved through the understanding of black cultural paradigms, black musical topics, and musical precedent; to those with a keenly trained ear these instances are, or will become, apparent.

Importance of Perceiving Double Consciousness

Because the message is not overtly spoken in instances of coded discourse, it is essential that the audience of a coded message be fluent in the codeswitching practices of the native tongue of doubly conscious creator. Precedent in music, especially when in the context of African American black cultural paradigms and musical topics are what makes the listener aware that some communicative sleight of hand is being perpetrated. These elements are the canaries in the communicative mine which cues the audience to possible instances of double consciousness in aural communiqué like a musical composition or a speech and, without the specified knowledge of the appropriate lexicon, the message will be largely lost in translation. The impact on communication when a

recipient is missing this lexicon cannot be overstated in regards to academically and culturally competent examination and analysis of aural communiqué like art music. Only with a functional knowledge and dexterous grasp of musical precedents, African American cultural paradigms, and musical topics is there a possibility for solid theoretical footing upon which one may proceed to perceive double consciousness events. Much like the linguistic fluency and knowledge necessary to perceive a pun, the listener is severely disadvantaged without the fluency in the aforementioned precedents, paradigms, and topics. These three elements work together to give the initiated listener and conscientious analyst the necessary framing through which to view black art music and posit discerned instances of double consciousness. Specifically, it is with an understanding of Call and response, Blues, Jazz, Spirituals, Signifyin(G), African Diasporic Dance and Gospel, which are foundational and fundamental to the heart and personal sphere of black art, that the presence of precedents, paradigms, and topics will be clear. Without this knowledge, just as with the perception and comprehension of a pun, the message will be missed.

As Carter points out in his analysis which seeks to discern the presence of double-consciousness in Florence Price's art songs, there is only some precedent for this kind of approach to musical analytics so there is no exhaustive scholarship on the various means for expressing

or conveying these ideas.[15] Because of this lack, the listener's necessity and responsibility for the understanding of Call and response, Blues, Jazz, Spirituals, Signifyin(G), African Diasporic Dance and Gospel in order to properly conduct examinations of African American art music is very high. When these competencies are not met, the acts of interpretive and analytical violence, intentional or not, occur and the result is a perpetuation of reductive, and often racist, erasure and marginalization of black genius.

Semiotics

In order to rightly construct and apply a topical paradigm for analyzing the art music of John Dangerfield Cooper and other African American art music composers in this similar tradition, I believe it is essential to consult and build upon the foundational work of scholars like Samuel Floyd, Kofi Agawu, Eileen Southern and Horace Maxile. These scholars have, thankfully and necessarily, incorporated cultural elements for emphasis in the analysis of African American music. The incorporation of various traditions and cultural elements, especially in the art music genre, is an essential practice so prevalent that a true and complete analysis must include not just an accounting for the coordination and uses of pitch clusters in time but also the coordination

[15] Marquese Carter, "The Poet and Her Songs: Analyzing the Art Songs of Florence B. Price," D.M. thesis, Indiana University, 2018, 71.

and uses of topics because the music is so richly layered and referential. The work of Henry Louis Gates Jr. is also very significant to the topical understanding of African diasporic cultures and is therefore of great significance to the construction and implementation of this work. Without his work *The Signifiyin(G) Monkey,* the entire reality of African diasporic literary voices creating intertextual references to elements and topics inside and outside the literary works which currently hold the audience's attention would not have entered the academic theoretic sphere. It is important to note that Gates is certain to extend the definition of literary voices, due to the realities of the Africanist oral traditions and Griots, to authors, artists, and even actual orators. The significance of this inclusive definition of signifyin(G) for this work is twofold: first, it serves to introduce the concept of multiple-consciousness as a paradigm of African diasporic art and second, it establishes that, because the theory is sociological, it also includes art and artists.

Using this definition and the frame of signifyin(G), the article by Horace Maxile *Signs, Symphonies, Signifyin(G): African-American Cultural Topics as Analytical Approach to the Music of Black Composers* provides a pivotal and foundational example for the analytical approaching of Dr. Cooper and his music as subject matter for examination. In his article, Maxile broaches the entire spectrum of black cultural topics most especially for musical and musicological discourse and analysis. He does

this through an expansion of the work of theorist, semiologist and analyst Kofi Agawu and his work *Playing with Signs: A semiotic interpretation of classic music.* Maxile lays out a five-subject topical framework for analyzing "vernacular" African American music: call and response, blues, spiritual/supernatural, jazz, and signifyin(G).[16] It is here, with his application of this topical analytical framework to *Freedom* by Frederick Tillis, where Maxile accomplishes the first and, quite possibly, most successfully complete analysis of an African American piece of art music while avoiding the ill-fitting, assimilative, and frankly violent, Western analytical techniques which, until that time, had been standard practice in academia. He focuses his analysis on the topics and semiotics of the piece because these are the most effective humanizing investigative modes. The resulting analysis is one that provides clarity to both that which is seen and heard in an a-cultural manner and illuminates and elucidates the sonic experience such that those foreign to the cultural context for which Tillis' piece was written may now have access to a complete listening and performance experience of the piece from a culturally and musically theoretical perspective.

Maxile's article, despite being thorough and instructive, is not exculpatory. He acknowledges further need for other scholars to do

---

[16] Horace J. Maxile, Jr., "Signs, Symphonies, Signifyin(G): African-American Cultural Topics as Analytical Approach to the Music of Black Composers," Black Music Research Journal 28, no. 1 (2008): 123-38, http://www.jstor.org/stable/25433797, 127.

nuanced work to interpret and analyze the entire oeuvre of black music. Examples of areas of needing nuance are subgenres for jazz and blues, inclusion of African diasporic dance traditions, and consideration of further nuance within the signifyin(g) topic and the expansion of music genres to include gospel. Because of this, and Dr. Cooper's wife being a dancer and his life spheres, both personal and professional, including various forms of folk and classical dance, I believe that it is essential to use and expand upon the topical framework put forward by Maxile for this study and will therefore be including the topic of African Diasporic Dance in the topical analytical framework for the analysis of work. This is necessary not only because of Maxile's acknowledgement for further needed work but also because of Cooper's fluency and ensconcement with the breadth of both Western and black musical traditions. In order to further explore this topic, I will consider how the topics of Call and response, Blues, Jazz, Spirituals (inclusive of Maxile's spiritual/supernatural), Signifyin(G), Gospel, and African Diasporic incorporate and interplay to create the semiotic world of John Dangerfield Cooper. In order to have a firm foundation and to make my approach to the pedagogical application clear, I will do some background explanation of the works of the scholars previously mentioned and demonstrate how their works have been applied to African diasporic cultural literature. This is essential to understanding and appreciating

the approach that I am applying to the field generally and this man's music specifically.

Henry Louis Gates Jr. and his detailed theory in *The Signifyin(G) Monkey* provides a foundational basis for African American, and therefore African diasporic, literary criticism. He focuses his analysis on a folk-story about Enu, who was a trickster god, as he is recorded in this folk-story. During the story, it becomes clear to those fluent with the culture and practices of the African diaspora that elements and details of the story are meant to signify and represent cultural phenomena. Gates' analysis focuses on different cultural tropes, signs, and emblems and expounds upon the importance and operation of the signifyin(G) nature of Enu in the story. What is important to glean from the signifyin(G), as Gates describes it, is that signifyin(G) is by definition the inclusion of a revealing literary detail that intimates or has a doubly substantial nature and also requires a doubly conscious awareness from the reading audience such that said detail represents a simultaneous correlation to something existing in the story world and in the audience's reality. By doing this, the author is making a commentary via comparison or, as Gates describes it, is exercising the black "trope of tropes"[17] In "this trope of tropes," it is essential to grasp the very first reference in order to understand the corollary rhetorical play in operation. If the reader is not

[17] Henry Louis Gates, Jr., The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 66.

culturally fluent enough to catch the corollary allusion, then the device fails and the author's troping is rendered ineffective.

A prime example of literary signifyin(G), and the one used in Gates' theory, is taken from a story from the diasporic oral tradition. There are many versions that appear in many contexts. Cab Calloway's song "The Jungle King (You Ain't a Doggone Thing)" from 1947 recounts the same story within the context of a big band, Oscar Brown Jr. features "The Signifying Monkey" on his 1960 album *Sin & Soul...and Then Some* and Rudy Ray Moore, the multi-talented actor-comedian-musician, delivers a rendition in the 1975 film *Dolemite*. The version below comes from Roger Abrahams' *Deep Down in the Jungle: Negro Narrative Folklore from the Streets of Philadelphia* and is archived with the University of Texas' English department. Though there are other versions of this narrative, this version was selected based upon its connection to Philadelphia and the social contexts of Dr. Cooper.

> Deep down in the jungle so they say
> There's a signifying motherfucker down the way.
> There hadn't been no disturbin' in the jungle for quite a bit,
> For up jumped the monkey in the tree one day and laughed,
> "I guess I'll start some shit." (5)
> Now the lion come through the jungle one peaceful day,
> When the signifying monkey stopped him and this what he started to say.
> He said, "Mr. Lion," he said, "A bad-assed motherfucker down your way.
> He said, "Yeah! The way he talks about your folks is a certain shame.
> I even heard him curse when he mentioned your grandmother's name." (10)
> The lion's tail shot back like a forty-four,

When he went down the jungle in all uproar.
He was pushing over mountains, knocking down trees.
In the middle of a pass he met an ape.
He said, "I ought to beat your ass just to get in shape." (15)
He met the elephant in the shade of a tree.
"Come on long-eared motherfucker, it's gonna be you and me."
Now the elephant looked up out the corner of his eye,
Said, "Go on bird-shit, fight somebody your size."
Then the lion jumped back and made a hell of a pass. (20)
The elephant side-stepped and kicked him dead on his ass.
Now he knocked in his teeth, fucked-up his eye,
Kicked in his ribs, tied-up his face,
Tied his tail in knots, stretched his tail out of place.
Now they fought all that night, half the next day. (25)
I'll be damned if I can see how the lion got away.
When they was fussing and fighting, lion came back through the jungle more dead than alive,
When the monkey started some more of that signifying jive.
He said, "Damn, Mr. Lion, you went through here yesterday, the jungle rung.
Now you comeback today, damn near hung." (30)
He said, "Now you come by here when me and my wife trying to get a little bit,
T' tell me that 'I rule' shit."
He said, "Shut up, motherfucker, you better not roar
'Cause I'll come down there and kick your ass some more."
The monkey started getting panicked and jumped up and down, (35)
When his feet slipped and his ass hit the ground.
Like a bolt of lightning, a stripe of white heat,
The lion was on the monkey with all four feet.
The monkey looked up with a tear in his eyes,
He said, "Please, Mr. Lion, I apologize." (40)
He said, "You lemme get my head out the sand
Ass out the grass, I'll fight you like a natural man."
The lion jumped back and squared for a fight.
The motherfucking monkey jumped clear out of sight.
He said, "Yeah, you had me down, you had me last, (45)
But you left me free, now you can still kiss my ass."
Again he started getting panicked and jumping up and down.
His feet slipped and his ass hit the ground.
Like a bolt of lightning, stripe of white heat,
Once more the lion was on the monkey with all four feet. (50)
Monkey looked up again with tears in his eyes.

He said, "Please, Mr. Lion, I apologize."
Lion said, "Ain't gonna be no apologizing.
I'm a put an end to his motherfucking signifying."
Now when you go through the jungle, there's a tombstone so they say, (55)
"Here the Signifying Monkey lay,
Who got kicked in the nose, fucked-up in the eyes,
Stomped in the ribs, kicked in the face,
Drove backwards to his ass-hole, knocked his neck out of place."
That's what I say. [18]

This literary offering is essentially a critique which displays a use of the rhetorical whit and intellectual skill of the lesser physical specimen to topple and outpace the physically superior. This version ends with the monkey meeting an unfortunate fate, but the earlier mentioned versions by Calloway, Moore and Brown have different endings. This same or similar story with an alternate ending where the monkey survives as the protagonist would certainly have a different effect and implication for the reader to infer and internalize. Especially when the history of oppression of African Americans is considered, this alternate ending has a great significance on the narrative's impact. Either can be used depending upon the intended impact of the oration on the audience as orchestrated by the orator. That difference is the importance and impact that signifyin(G) has as a rhetorical device.

[18] Brian Bremen and Roger D. Adams, "The Signifying Monkey," http://www.en.utexas.edu/Classes/Bremen/e316k/texts/monkey.html.

This legend did not only enter African American culture through this source oratorical. Before the conversion of Africans to Eurocentric Christianity, the religions of enslaved Africans came with them through the middle passage to America as did their legends and tales. Elements of tradition and culture continued to transform as they were retained in the lives of those enslaved who survived the middle passage. With the new land, came new rules around spirituality. Once Christian conversion was introduced to the enslaved Africans, their cultural practices shifted. This trickster trait, which was not aligned with the new religious arena, moved to the secular arena as a folk hero. The story of High John de Conqueror is this example. Whether the legend was that he was a man or a spirit, as a prince or an apparition, he stood as source of inspiration and an oratorical device that could be used as a signifyin(G) linguistic device. As both a physical manifestation carried on the person as well as an idea that was carried in their heart, he represents a significant retention of the trickster motif in the culture of African Americans.

High John was a folk hero who became as real as "a mighty man[19]" but he did not start that way. In some recountings of the legend, he is one which gives the believer a personification of hope, as the author and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston captured in her book, *The Sacred Church.* In her version, High John "put on flesh" much like another spiritual hero

[19] Zora Neale Hurston, *The Sanctified Church,* Berkeley: Turtle Island, 1983, 70.

being represented to the enslaved Africans as a source for hope and escape from persecution.

> High John de Conquer came to be a man, and a mighty man at that. But he was not a natural man in the beginning. First off, he was a whisper, a will to hope, a wish to find something worthy of laughter and song. Then the whisper put on flesh. His footsteps sounded across the world in a low but musical rhythm as if the world he walked on was a singing-drum. Black people had an irresistible impulse to laugh. High John de Conquer was a man in full, and had come to live and work on the plantations, and all the slave folks knew him in the flesh.
>
> The sign of this man was a laugh, and his singing-symbol was a drum-beat. No parading drum-shout like soldiers out for show. It did not call to the feet of those who were fixed to hear it. It was an inside thing to live by. It was sure to be heard when and where the work was the hardest, and the lot the most cruel. It helped the slaves endure. They knew that something better was coming. So they laughed in the face of things and sang, "I'm so glad! Trouble don't last always." And the white people who heard them were struck dumb that they could laugh. In an outside way, this was Old Massa's fun, so what was Old Cuffy laughing for?
>
> Old Massa couldn't know, of course, but High John de Conquer was there walking his plantation like a natural man. He was treading the sweat-flavored clods of the plantation, crushing out his drum tunes, and giving out secret laughter. He walked on the winds and moved fast. Maybe he was in Texas when the lash fell on a slave in Alabama, but before the blood was dry on the back he was there. A faint pulsing of a drum like a goat-skin stretched over a heart, that came nearer and closer, then somebody in the saddened quarters would feel like laughing, and say, "Now, High John de Conquer, Old Massa couldn't get the best of *him*. That old John was a case!"[20]

The importance, and not just the transformative process, of the High John de Conquer figure into the fabric of the folklore created by the

[20] Zora Neale Hurston, *The Sanctified Church,* Berkeley: Turtle Island, 1983, 70.

enslaved African population of the United States where he originated, and became as real as a man and as faint as a whisper, and his subsequent retention and endurance in African American communities as a espousal of resilience and a source of strength cannot be overstated.

His memory in certain portions of the enslaved African descendent population's communities endures to the modern day. He is referenced by African American detective character Brister in season 1, episode 3 "Night of the Wolves" of the Netflix animated television series *Seis Manos* which was released on October3, 2019.[21] He says the line "Lord knows we got voodoo up in my family tree, all the way down to the John the Conqueror roots" as a means to discuss the operation of folk religion. Though he is used in the *Seis Manos* episode to speak to and invoke the character's voodoo heritage and discuss folk religion, John the Conqueror is also a figure in the hoodoo tradition and serves as a specifically African American reference no matter the context. The name is also evoked as a means to even assert superiority to those who oppress you and the prowess of black masculinity. This is evidenced by Muddy Waters in the song "I'm Your Hoochie Coochie Man" from 1954. As the usage in the show script and song lyric both attest, John the Conqueror is an enduring folklore reference of great specificity and significance.

These usages serve to display the endurance of the Africanist folk cultural elements and enmesh them I modern culture for both African

[21] *Seis Manos*. "Night of the Wolves." Episode 3. Directed by Willis Bulliner. Written by Álvaro Rodriguez. Power House Animation. Netflix, Inc., October 3, 2019.

Americans, and even internationally, in subsequent generations. A reading of Muddy Waters' lyrics makes his reference clear and the evocation of the trickster/conqueror figure unmistakable.

> The gypsy woman told my mother, before I was born.
> I got a boy-child's comin', he's gonna be a son-of-a-gun.
> He's gonna make pretty women's jump and shout!
> Then the world gonna know what this all about.
> Don't you know I'm here? Everybody knows I'm here.
> Well, you know I'm the hoochie-coochie man, everybody knows I'm here!
> I got a black cat bone, I got a mojo too.
> I got John the Conqueror, I'm gonna mess with you.
> I'm gonna make you girls, lead me by my hand
> Then the world'll know, the hoochie-coochie man.
> Don't you know I'm here? Everybody knows I'm here!
> Well, you know I'm the hoochie-coochie man, everybody knows I'm here!
> On the seventh hour, on the seventh day,
> On the seventh month, the seventh doctor say
> "He was born for good luck," and that you see
> I got seven hundred dollars, and don't you mess with me!
> But you know I'm here. Everybody knows I'm here.
> Well, you know I'm the hoochie-coochie man. Everybody knows I'm here![22]

Though the song espouses sexual power and prowess as well, it also repeats the idea that he is someone to esteem, akin to a trickster, that he is formidable, and that he has some magical powers from his mojo.[23] It is important to understand also that this and other songs referencing hoodoo were not written and performed by Muddy Waters as a means of proselytizing. He did not particularly believe in hoodoo, but, as

---

[22] Palmer, Robert (1989). *Muddy Waters: Chess Box* (Box set booklet). Muddy Waters. Universal City, California: Chess Records/MCA Records.

[23] Katrina Hazzard-Donald, *Mojo Workin': The Old African American Hoodoo System.* Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013.

musicologist Robert Palmer states, he believed that the music "had power"[24] much like the works of his counterparts in the art music genre.

The author, or orator, of the signifyin(G) passage is able to make commentary on a wide range of subjects by using this literary means and can speak to grasp the most basic of audiences while simultaneously expounding upon the most profound of topics. Additionally, the commentary is artistic when done in this way. It is, in and of itself, an artistic act for the purpose of communication and contextualization. This sometimes manifests in parody or comparative critique, but always brings new light and perspective while providing commentary to an old situation without ever having mentioned it by name.[25] Though profound, this is not a new paradigm in discursive and rhetorical practices of the African cultural diaspora but instead represents a continuing usage of the ancient practice.

Ancestry

When placed into proper context, it is clear that the signifying monkey of Gates is rooted in the sacred traditions and practices of the African continent. It is also clear that this character endures and continues through the folk religions of the enslaved Africans here in the

[24] Ibid, 97-98.

[25] Gates 65, 66, 92.

Americas. The oral tradition of West Africa is full of stories of tricksters and the West African Ifá system has at its center a trickster God of sorts Esu-Elegbara. This God, practice of spirituality, and system of divination, after crossing through the middle passage, was retained in folklore and is present in multiple sacred cultural iterations such as Santería, Cadomblé, Voodoo, and Hoodoo. These traditions result from encountering European Christianity by the enslaved population in America and each spiritual practice is that which resulted and is maintained to the present day.

Because of this predilection toward cultural mutation by combination, Negro spirituals have within them many of these signifyin(G) retentions as well. The oral tradition of spirituals both as art and as tools of communication passed down and continues to pass down through the generations. This is why songs like *Steal Away*, *Follow the Drinking Gourd*, and *Wade in the Water*, though beautiful, were also very meaningful to the survival of the African escaping enslavement[26] and even have relevance to African Americans today.

It has been said, written, and recorded by many scholars that enslaved Africans retained elements of their culture when they were captured, kidnapped, transported to North America and

[26] Raymond Wise, "Defining African American gospel music by tracing its historical and musical development from 1900 to 2000," Electronic Thesis or Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2002, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/, 11-12.

enslaved. [27] [28] [29]. Scholars also record and repeatedly affirm a belief that African culture has been applied to every aspect of American life that the descendants of the enslaved Africans have created for themselves. The evidence of African culture is particularly prominent within the music of African Americans.

> Some [scholars] express a belief that sometime between the mid to late 18th century spirituals "spontaneously" arose in the culture. It has been stated that "in the early days of the Black church between 1750 and 1777 there was spontaneous creation of the "spirituals" which resulted from the African tradition of call and response." The spiritual became the predominate form of music used in rural Black churches and praise houses during and after slavery."[30]

This historic retelling of the phenomenological timeline is accurate; however, it lacks proper contextual consideration. This account speaks to what happened but not why it the creation and emergence of Negro spirituals was necessitated.

---

[27] L. Jones, *Blues People: The Negro Experience in White America and the Music That Developed From It,* New York, N. Y.: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1963.

[28] G.R. Ricks, *Some Aspects of the Religious Music of the United States Negro: An Ethnomusicological Study with Special Emphasis on the Gospel Tradition*, New York, N.Y.: Amo Press, 1977.

[29] Raymond Wise, "Defining African American gospel music by tracing its historical and musical development from 1900 to 2000," Electronic Thesis or Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2002, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/, 11-36.

[30] Raymond Wise, "Defining African American gospel music by tracing its historical and musical development from 1900 to 2000," Electronic Thesis or Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2002, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/, 11.

The enslaved Africans had to build a life for themselves in their new surroundings inclusive of ancestral and newly encountered art forms filtered by their retained heritages, as is accurately understood. This art would be a fusion of the European culture with which they made contact and their African heritage brought with them across the oceans. This fusion means that Negro spirituals are one of the first uniquely American musical genres. These musical creations often combine stories from the poetry of the King James Bible with the pentatonic melodies and call and response practices of Africa. Some consider this practice, using the definition of combined fine poetry and music, the composition of art music. This contextual understanding illumines the literature of the Negro spiritual and places it into a more complete light.

The Scholar G. R. Ricks writes that "African Americans performed various types of spirituals throughout the history of slavery such as moans, cries, shouts, and field hollers."[31] Though spirituals were, and still are, generally regarded as sad songs with a somber mood, there are various types and many moods within the genre. Ricks has codified a categorization method and believes that there were many forms of spirituals including slow spirituals, metered spirituals, and jubilee spirituals. This system is important because it categorizes jubilee

[31] G.R. Ricks, *Some Aspects of the Religious Music of the United States Negro: An Ethnomusicological Study with Special Emphasis on the Gospel Tradition*, New York, N.Y.: Amo Press, 1977, 47.

spirituals as fast-paced, uptempo songs. This stands in direct contradiction to the frequent simplification of spirituals categorically to that of being slow and somber.

It is true that the moans are in the slow category but that is because they are a specific, and functional, type of spiritual. From the mourning traditions of the retained African cultures, this type of spiritual included songs for the dead. The enslaved Africans did, however, create an entire subgenre of songs with a happy mood that spoke of the joys of freedom. These songs brought hope and their fast-paced nature led these pieces often to become dancing songs or shouts with hand clapping and foot stomping. Though there were spirituals which were genricly pure, there were also those which combined elements of styles like combining the shout-jubilee and shout-spiritual. This is because many spirituals naturally incorporated improvisation due to its value as a cultural paradigm.

There was a communal element to spirituals and, commonly, spirituals were used for congregational singing. Though there was a leader, the words might change from one rendition to another and even include different improvised sections. Because improvisation is a central African cultural paradigm and applies to musical practice, the congregation was expected to participate and did joyfully despite any

differences in the performances.[32] What is essential to understand is that this is the foundation upon which African American musical heritage is built. The spiritual genre is quite diverse and the scholarship on it is significant. This genre, however, is not the end but merely the beginning of the artistic musical output of African American composers. Those early singers of spirituals were composers also in the African tradition. That is why the spiritual is said to have provided the musical basis and foundation for many of the subsequent African American sacred and secular musical genres. It is also important to understand the function of the trickster, like Esu-Elegbara or John the Conqueror, and the signifyin(G) present in the Negro spiritual. The coded messaging and use of music as a technology for the retention of culture was essential because religious music of the time was being used to reinforce enslavement.

There was a drive within the White missionary and enslaver communities to convert African slaves to Christianity as a means to use their faith to make them more submissive.[33] The involvement of many Africans in the mainstream religious movement of the time was sinister therefore. As a result of this drive and desire for conversion of the

---

[32] G.R. Ricks, *Some Aspects of the Religious Music of the United States Negro: An Ethnomusicological Study with Special Emphasis on the Gospel Tradition*, New York, N.Y.: Amo Press, 1977, 47

[33]Wyatt Tee Walker, *Somebody's Calling My Name: Black Sacred Music and Social Change*. Valley Forge: PA.: Judson Press, 1979, 30.

enslaved by whites, many Africans did join White Protestant denominational churches where they were exposed to European sacred practices and the accompanying musical genres including but not limited to psalmody, lined hymns, metered hymns, and even shape note singing. By exposing the enslaved to these genres, the cultural interaction produced uniquely African American cultural expressions.

This unique creation is due to the aforementioned fusing of newly contacted cultural practices with those from Africa by the enslaved in America. This meant that African Americans adopted and adapted by some form of merging. This merging of the two cultures produced a result that can be heard and seen within the genres of African American sacred music practice. Many African Americans adopted the liturgical and musical worship practices of the White denominational churches they attended, but many also transmutated the psalmody and lined hymns and created their own liturgical and musical worship practices.[34] This was accomplished through the integration of Africanist elements like pentatonic scales, neutralized or flattened chordal and scalar pitches like the third, and improvisation. By combining these elements with those they contacted, African Americans created their unique musical expressions so that there was a sacred musical style African Americans adopted and created comparable to that of European Americans.

---

[34] R.M. Simmons, *Good Religion: Expressions of Energy In Traditional African-American Worship,* Columbus, Ohio: Layman Christian Leadership, 1997.

This music was heard, and can still be heard, in many kinds of churches in the African American community. Spanning the gamut from the traditional and emotionally reserved, to the less traditional and emotionally free, many established their own churches. Those who preferred a more traditional service attended the mainline Protestant denomination, Baptist, Methodist, and AME worship services which included the use of a liturgy and instrumental accompaniment to any congregational singing. Those who preferred a freer-flowing service often congregated in their own camp meeting-style and Pentecostal services. These services had a more vigorous, communal worship experience and were held in what was then called the "Praise House." This worship experience was more in line with the Africanist cultural retentions and consisted of a very high-spirited worship experience. This allowed the creation of a permissive space for the enslaved to worship according to their African American cultural heritage and paradigms. These services would include the use of instruments, often improvisatory spirited singing and holy dancing including the ring shout. This dancing was done because its participants believed that, in the ring shout, they could conjure the presence of the Holy Spirit, which they believed to be the source from which they could draw the power and strength to endure the injustices of slavery.[35] Scholar L. Jones writes the following description of such a worship experience;

[35] [35] L. Jones, *Blues People: The Negro Experience in White America and the Music That*

> The early Black Christian churches or the pre-church "praise houses" became the social focal point of Negro life. The relative autonomy of the developing Negro Christian religious gathering made it one of the only areas in the slave's life where he was relatively free of the White man's domination. (Aside from the more formally religious activities of the fledgling Negro churches, they served as the only centers where the slave community could hold strictly social functions.) The "praise nights," or "prayer meetings," were also the only times when the Negro felt he could express himself as freely and emotionally as possible. It is here that music becomes indispensable to any discussion of Afro-Christian religion ... "Spirit possession," as it is called in the African religions was also intrinsic to Afro-Christianity. "Getting' the spirit," "getting' religion" or "getting' happy" were indispensable features of the early American Negro church and even today, of the non-middle-class and rural Negro churches. And always music was an important part of the total emotional configuration of the Negro church, acting in most cases as the catalyst for those worshipers who suddenly "feel the spirit." "The spirit will not descend without song" (pp. 40-41).[36]

This narrative shows just how central to the culture music was, how and why the Africans created culture despite the destitution and depravity of their circumstances. Their religious and artist practices were essential and deeply connected the culture of the enslaved Africans to that of their homeland. Music is sacred in the culture as a technology for preservation and communication so only the initiated can decipher the densely formed data within them.

It is in these songs —the first distinctly American art music— where we see cultural crumbs of the motherland being produced in these

---

Developed From It, New York, N. Y.: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1963, 43.

[36] L. Jones, *Blues People: The Negro Experience in White America and the Music That Developed From It*, New York, N. Y.: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1963, 40-41.

signifyin(G) means. Despite being brought over land and sea, these crumbs were bulwarked in the souls of the folks through all the turmoil, uprooting, and reconditioning they endured. This signifyin(G) tradition would even continue and transform as these songs began to transmute into stories and speaking and teaching vehicles for evangelizing. This performative style of declamation, sometimes called sermonizing, became a cultural crumb which, when utilized, adds the layers of signifyin(G) that goes all the way back to the plantation days of enslaved Africans. Another reference to this trickiness can be found in Cab Calloway's historic recording of Minnie the Moocher and even his previously mentioned rendition of "The Jungle King (You Ain't a Doggone Thing)" from 1947. This character continues as a phenomenon in the mainstream secular culture of African Americans from the plantation to the present. As it endures, it develops new pseudonyms like in the vernacular vocabulary "working the mojo" and "hoochie coochie." References to these trickster folk characters appear in Muddy Waters' song "I'm Your Hoochie Coochie Man" from 1954, also in "Mannish Boy" from 1955, and onward in the braggadocious boasting of contemporary musical and social practice. With the appropriate understanding of double consciousness and signifyin(G), and means to perceive them, as well as the ancestral lenses with the work of Agawu, Maxile, Gates, and Hurston, the cultural practices of African Americans come more clearly into view. With this understanding, the practices of Call and response,

Blues, Jazz, Spirituals, Signifyin(G), African Diasporic Dance and Gospel are framed for application.

Chapter 4: Cooper's Music Examined through Consciousness, Semiotics, Ancestry, and Style

> It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness,- and American, A Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.[1]" — W.E.B. DuBois

Now, having the benefit of a detailed biography, explanation of historical context, an understanding of the workings of public and private identity presentation, preservation, and curation for African Americans in the early 20th century, and viewing these elements intersecting in the lives of those who labored to actively bring cultural change, a more complete context for the creation of the art music for Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper is constructed. Thus, the identity artifacts and cultural crumbs in his music can now be approached, perceived, examined and understood. For instance, it can be said that when a composer uses what might be seen as a style of sermonizing or testifying in their music, for instance in Cooper's *Lord I Have Seen,* an analysis which posits the he is signifyin(G) there, with proper evidentiary reinforcement, can now be understood. Or, the statement that the compositions which fall into the public sphere display more customarily

[1] W.E.B. DuBois, *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Candace Ward and Stanley Applebaum, 1994 reprint (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1903), Chapter 1.

compliant properties in comparison to his private sphere compositions can be understood and an articulate discussion can be had.

Steps toward Perceiving Double Consciousness

Communicative practice, musical precedent, black cultural paradigms, and black musical topics all come into the realm of consideration as flags for possible instances of double consciousness in aural communiqué such as speeches or, by extension, musical compositions. The precedent in speech, as codified in the study of linguistics, is what is described as language contact phenomena such as borrowing, codeswitching, codemixing, and codemeshing. When these practices are present in language, it is because communication with an audience from a similarly multilingual context as the speaker is assumed to be taking place. These same phenomena also exist in musical situations when composers are writing for an audience with a similarly multi-genric musical context. In both cases, the speaker has evaluated their audience and deemed them capable of processing the overt and implied significance of their chosen vocabulary and use in the linguistic phenomena. This makes comprehension of the speaker's entire message reliant upon the operation of a doubly conscious audience. Any analysis of this same communication looking at flags for possible instances of double consciousness in aural communiqué similarly requires familiarity with the chosen vocabulary and phenomena.

While there are certainly many other flags aside from codeswitching, they lie beyond the scope of this analysis; an in-depth ethnomusicological and/or anthropological union catalog of paradigmatic subjects, sounds, signs, symbols, timbres, etc. are necessary to identify and understand instances of double consciousness. Functionally, if musical precedent, black cultural paradigms, and black musical topics are within the hearer's grasp, that will suffice as a solid sonic and theoretical footing upon which one may proceed to perceive double consciousness events. One must understand all three in order to properly ascertain and discern the presence of a double consciousness event.

A person must first understand predominant musical precedent in order to initially perceive any instance of writ large, situationally specific, or inconspicuously deployed expressivity. An example of this kind of precedent would include modes of text setting and text painting from the Western musical tradition. Secondly, one must understand the necessary cultural paradigms, such as significant referential rhythms, melodies, intervallic sequences, textual vocabulary and even harmonic progressions, in order to recognize the possibility for the existence of paradigms in a stream of stimuli. Thirdly, and dependent upon the first two, you must have a grasp of black musical topics to perceive the possible presence of double consciousness in aural transmission. Without an understanding of Call and response, Blues, Jazz, Spirituals,

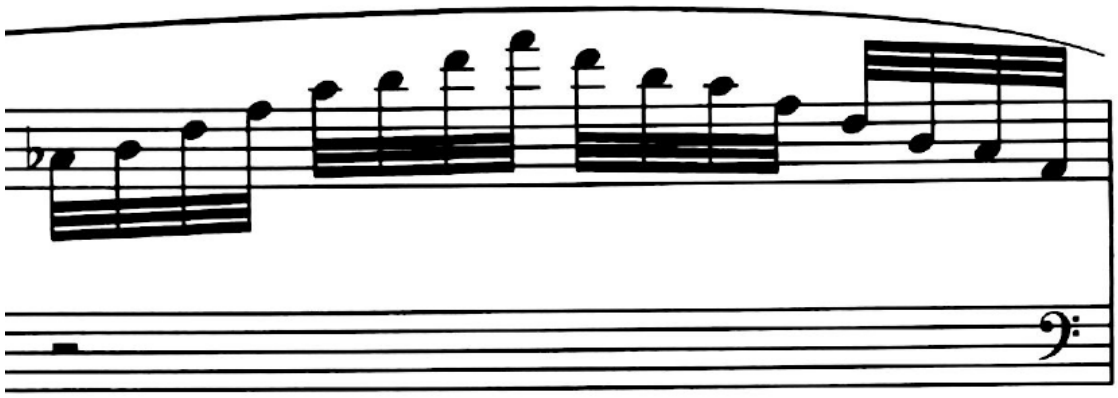
Signifyin(G), African Diasporic Dance and Gospel, you will miss that which is foundational and fundamental to the heart and cultural sphere of black art. These three elements work together to give the conscientious listener and analyst the necessary framing through which to view black art music and posit discerned instances of double consciousness.

Some hints to the presence of double consciousness' events can be drawn, therefore, and I will posit them here. These are only hints because, as Carter points out in his analysis of the presence of double-consciousness in Florence Price's art songs, there is only some precedent for this kind of approach to musical analytics so there is no exhaustive scholarship on the various means for expressing or conveying these ideas.[2] The first hint, though somewhat superficial and obvious, is still foundational; in order for both European and African/Black topics to be present, they will only be found in pieces whose composers understand and employ both. That is to say, episodes of double consciousness compositional phenomena and events will not occur in pieces where the composer is not fluent with both traditions. More often than not, this will mean the composer is black or identifies somehow as such culturally through lived experience. Secondly, unless the topics are operating simultaneously, the doubleness event will operate subtly or even unrecognizably. This is because communicative intelligibility requires the duality, whether consecutive or simultaneous, to flow syntactically. In

[2] Marquese Carter, "The Poet and Her Songs: Analyzing the Art Songs of Florence B. Price," D.M. thesis, Indiana University, 2018, 71.

other words, a hearer without the cultural awareness would overlook or misunderstand the significance of a specific episode or event because it is so well integrated. Fourth, because these two things occur side by side, it is possible that there is an incongruency or shift in the experienced aural reception. For instance, the text of a song may suddenly slip into a dialect, use specifically vernacularized vocabulary, or the text may cease all together and a humming or moaning may replace it. These are indicators that something is happening outside of the norm and attention ought to be paid to it for full comprehension.

An example of this is in Cooper's *You Touched My Hand* when the interlude begins and the singer has a vocalise. This happens before the piano interlude at ms. 24 and again after the duet between piano and voice at the reprise which uses the same lyrics. Cooper employs a text painting technique with the way that the "music in the air" is declaimed. The singer holds while a $B\flat^7$ chord in third inversion is arpeggiated and then vanishes as quickly as it appeared. The musical gesture is below in Example.4.1.



0.1

Example.4.1. Arpeggio from You Touched My Hand

The vocal line and piano arpeggiation do not fit seamlessly together. The result is as if they are happening in two different, but simultaneous, worlds. As can be seen, the piano provides no support for the voice aside from this arpeggio and the inversion adds a dreamlike, surreal quality to this moment in the piece. These moments in music of the Western tradition are often seen as an aural signal of musical, artistic, and expressive activity and here the same elements are in operation. The difference is that the disjunct nature of this apparition and vanishing can be taken as an aural signal that something in a conflict of consciousness is afoot musically, artistically, and expressively. Dr. Cooper's warring worlds, those which are behind and in front of the Veil, can be perceived here.

With these aural cues in mind, we step into the world of the composer and can view their psychological joys and traumas under the mask and behind the Veil. Through an exploration of and appreciation of

the musical and cultural topics broached in a composer's music, we begin to comprehend the nuances of their sound-world and the interplay of it with their expressions of self in public society. Through the compositions of Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper, we are introduced and find a path into his great joy, and great pain. We find there also a systematic understanding of the incantations of his simultaneous blackness and his Western training which lead to a more complete comprehension of his works. His musical activity and the musical activity of other black-aligned artists clearly challenge the notions of superiority and subordination within American life by topically juxtaposing blackness and whiteness via their simultaneous tropic usage on the same pages, and sometimes even in the same measures, of music. Price, Ellington, Hayes, Burleigh, Kay, Bonds and countless others present a compositional paradigm that challenges America society's biases and uplifts the black experience via artistic expression. These expressions show emotional and intellectual depth and cultural richness. The motivation for this expressiveness is clear in the words of famed African American poet Paul Laurence Dunbar.

> We wear the mask that grins and lies,
> It hides our cheeks and shades our eyes,—
> This debt we pay to human guile;
> With torn and bleeding hearts we smile,
> And mouth with myriad subtleties.
>
> Why should the world be over-wise,
> In counting all our tears and sighs?
> Nay, let them only see us, while
> We wear the mask.

We smile, but, O great Christ, our cries
To thee from tortured souls arise.
We sing, but oh the clay is vile
Beneath our feet, and long the mile;
But let the world dream otherwise,
We wear the mask![3]

Cooper, and his fellow composers, presents a means to remove their masks, at least from and for one another, and, in so doing, find solace and freedom in private, and even public, spaces for the expressions of their blackness. These spaces show them to possess a valid and equal humanness and exert substantial agency and genius.

Compositional Style

Dr. Cooper's musical style, just like his vocational history, is hard to describe succinctly. His experiences and expertise are quite broad as are the sonic imprints on his compositional palette. Dr. Cooper brought all of these musical and linguistic resources to his compositions of text and music. Dr. Cooper, as a true polyglot, very often wrote his own texts and had very broad musical influences. I believe, in doing so, it was his goal to express the text to the fullest extent in every musical moment and that the music, like the philosophical compositional approach of Richard Wagner, would serve to enhance that purpose of expression and portray

[3] Paul Laurence. Dunbar, ""We Wear the Mask."" from The Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company), 1922, c1913.

any subtext plainly whether abstractly or with evocatively specific, and often signifyin(G), musical references and ethos.

Without this knowledge of compositional approach, Cooper's music can seem somewhat episodic, cogently sectional, or even disjunct in feeling upon first hearing. Much like a mosaic, which is a collection of smaller episodes of tile that can appear disjointed upon first viewing if improperly framed and contextualized, the music of Cooper's hand must be heard with proper context for the musical shifts to be properly framed and the larger message comprehended. As the musical settings shift with the textual themes, the two move in tandem together seamlessly. Because the music and text have such a tight symbiotic relationship, they serve one another.

Everything that Cooper wrote down was very intentional and served a purpose. His compositions were often written with a kind of functional conception. This frequently meant pieces were written to be functionally for a specific occasion such as church or to mark an event. Cooper had this intention in mind from the piece's genesis to the conclusion of the performable product. His compositional process seems to have been rather simultaneous. Remembrances of Cooper working recount his text and music coming to him together or with a specific linkage.[4] This linkage, at minimum, meant that sketching without a picture of the whole intended purpose in mind was not really a part of

[4] Naomi Dobson, interview by author, 3 March 2012, live interview, Philadelphia, PA.

his compositional process. Because of this, the music and text served each other as mutual masters; the text suggested musical ideas and music suggested textual syntax.

Because of Dr. Cooper's involvement in the community, he wrote music for many of its occasions. This is significant because it means he was recognized as a composer who was engaged in the daily life of his community and was asked to write pieces for this community's needs. His music was part of his personal public voice as well as giving voice to his community. He also formed and wrote music for groups in the community that were needed outlets for the people with whom he was connected. He formed an orchestra called the Little Symphony for the classically trained African American musicians in his community and a community choir. He also directed a choir in Media Pennsylvania whose purpose was to encourage integration of people from divergent walks of life. He used his role as minister of music to sponsor afternoon sacred concerts at his church and participated in other such events at other churches in the area sponsored by his friends.

For the purposes of analyzing Dr. Cooper's style, this dissertation will frame his pieces as fitting into one of three categories; the Anglican, Germanic, or Fusion style. All of these pieces are Dr. Cooper's interpretation of specific genres. The genres in which he composes have been filtered through his ears and tailored to his needs and, as such,

could all be called a fusion of one kind or another due to the inclusive nature of his musical vocabulary. For the purposes of this analysis, these genres will be treated as pure forms and will be applied as such.

The **Anglican** style is characterized as sharing characteristics with Gregorian and Anglican chant. Chant is formed from a sacred text that is set to music for the purpose of enhancing the worship service. The tenants of chant structure are that it is written in a mode, which serves as a kind of melodic vocabulary or accent that is specific to church music, has a tenor, which serves as a recitation pitch that is altered at points of cadence, and a final, which is a musical gesture that serves to signal the end of the chant. The tenor and final are normally related by a fifth. Chants in this style were very common in the high holy worship services of Catholic and Protestant denominations[5]. The Anglican Church, from which the Episcopal Church originated, is one of the churches in which the chant is commonly used. The Episcopal Church chants are syllabified and have rhythymicized notation with harmony parts so that they could be sung by a choir in harmony instead of by only a soloist. The general aesthetic of the chant is a trance-like or meditative

---

[5] David Hiley and Alex Lingas, "plainchant." *The Oxford Companion to Music. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 31, 2013, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e5213.

The use of formulas is most clearly demonstrated in psalmodic pieces. Choral Office psalms are intoned on one note (the tenor or recitation pitch), usually approached from below and maintained until the end of a text phrase (the musical cadence). In responsorial psalmody the verses were sung by a soloist, and the Office responsories have much more elaborate tones.

manner. They are used in the course of service as musical meditation usually with scriptural texts. The sacred music of Dr. Cooper shares many of these same characteristics. The pieces *Open for Us the Gates of Heaven*, *'This Day May Christ Be Known to You,* and *Lord I Have Seen* have elements of this musical style, which is why they have been labeled Anglican.

The **Germanic** style is characterized by a melody that is very triadic with few stepwise movements, the use of chromaticism in the melody, and dissonance as a part of the harmonic language. These practices can be seen in the music of many 20th century German composers. Most notable among them, and relevant for the specific purposes of this analysis, is Richard Wagner. Wagner was a composer of the Late Romantic period who was instrumental in changing the way music was written and the way chromaticism was treated. He wrote an operatic cycle called *Der Ring des Nibelungen* based on Norse mythology. The excerpt of Act one from Cooper's opera *Dleifregnad* shared this subject matter and other factors —like character motif or leitmotif, through-composition, thick chord density and harmonic prolongation— with the music of Wagner and his contemporaries which provided the motivation for the name of this style.

The **Fusion** style is characterized by a combination of the European and African American idioms without the presence of the

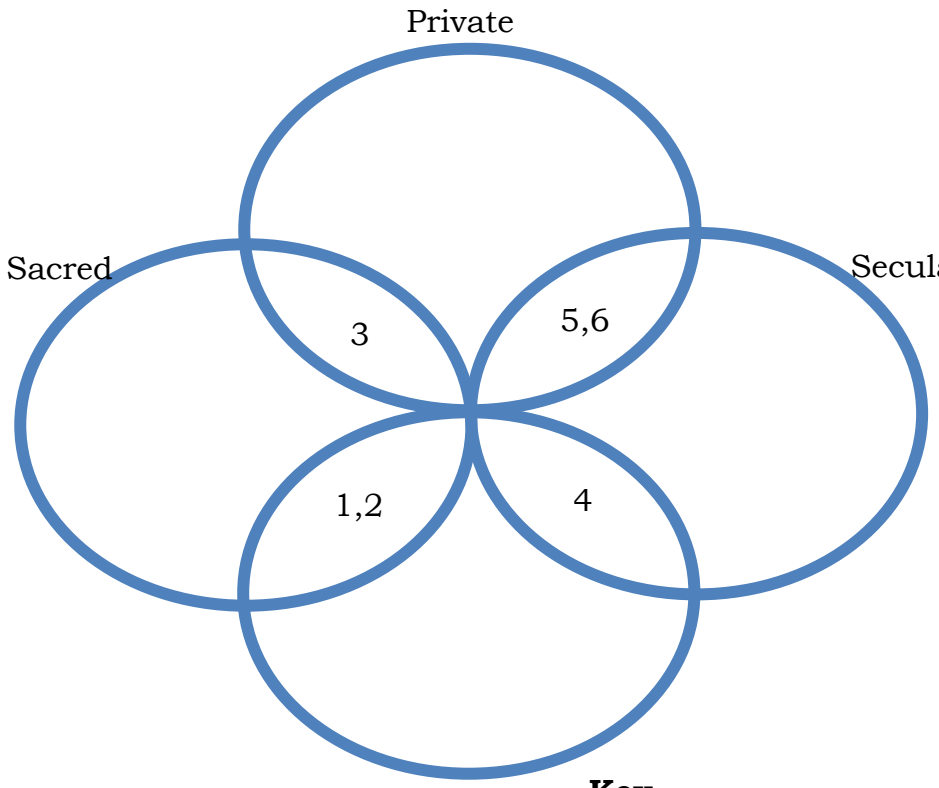
previous styles. This style is used in pieces where Cooper uses the free incorporation of chromaticism and the substitution of non-traditional chords, such as extended jazz chords, into traditional chord progressions. An example of a European idiom is the practice of European composers in the late 19th and 20th century using bi-tonal chords in otherwise mono-tonal passages. There are even some examples of entirely bi-tonal pieces in the repertory. An example of an African American idiom is the substitution of iv for V^6, iii for I^6, and IV^7 for the last V^7 in the progression I-V^6-I^6-V^7-1-V^7-1. Cooper uses this exact progression in his piece *Lord I Have Seen* repeatedly which was identified earlier as having some alignment with elements of the African American idiom. Cooper's other pieces for analysis that fit into this category are *You Touched My Hand*, and *To You*.

Dr. Cooper's music also changes depending on the venue for which it was first imagined. His pieces *You Touched My Hand*, *To You*, and *Dleifregnad* are all pieces of secular subject matter. The music that he wrote that has a secular subject can be described as having a lyrical musical quality. Through the use of extended chord harmonies and the integration of chromaticism, which are staples of Dr. Cooper's musical language, jazz and late romantic musical influences appear. Dr. Cooper's sacred music can be described as being chant-like. His use of modal melodies, Gregorian melodic structural contours and downward cadential gestures display this influence. His sacred pieces are *Open for*

Us the Gates of Heaven, *This Day May Christ Be Known to You*, and *Lord I Have Seen*. The pieces that were written to be performed in his private life possess a more intimate quality. In these pieces he employs a less strict use of quoted or pre-existing styles. An example of this can be seen in the mixture of chromatic clustering and virtuosic piano and vocal writing in *You Touched My Hand* and in the "Old Hollywood" and somewhat impressionistic style of his piece *To You*.

The pieces that are written for the public are more controlled in the integration of established genre. Dr. Cooper's pieces *Lord I Have Seen* and *Dleifregnad* are grand and have large gestures in them but, when compared to his writing in *You Touched My Hand*, seem less adventurous to the point of being almost tame. He also adheres to the common usage of harmonies, both standard and extended, in pieces to be performed in public. Examples of this can be seen in *Dleifregnad*, *Open for Us the Gates of Heaven*, and *This Day May Christ Be Known to You*. The last piece does have a middle section that is intentionally dissonant and has bi-tonal chords which may seem unconventional. However, the chords are used in a controlled, purposeful manner that is congruent with their established usages which were codified by Dr. Cooper's predecessors. The voicings are what is somewhat unique, but the employment is still fairly standard. In order to grasp how these pieces intersect with Dr. Cooper's spheres, Figure.4.1 below will provide an illustration of where the public, private, sacred and secular spheres of Dr. Cooper's life

intersect with the style of pieces he wrote. This will provide a frame for the pieces as examples of a larger trend in his musical output and give insight into the approaches to identity curation Dr. Cooper employed.



Key
1. Open for Us the Gates of Heaven
2. This Day May Christ Be Known to You
3. Lord I Have Seen Thy Salvation
4. Dleifregnad
5. You Touched My Hand
6. To You

Figure.4.1. Venn Diagram of Dr. Cooper's Compositional Styles and his Life Spheres

Song, Text, and Significance: Source Materials

As previously stated, Dr. Cooper penned many compositions. From the research I conducted, including the interviews, the list seems to be over 100 pieces. Unfortunately, most of those pieces were not recovered for this study. Despite this, a representative number of pieces were recovered and the study and surveying of these pieces allowed me to categorize and analyze them. For this study we will focus on six of Cooper's pieces because they show the breadth of his style and are all in the art song genre. His instrumental and choral works, though fascinating, are beyond the scope of this analysis. *Open for Us the Gates of Heaven*, *This Day May Christ Be Known to You*, an excerpt from his opera Dleifregnad, *You Touched My Hand*, *To You*, and *Lord I Have Seen* will be used for the excoriation and explanation of his output. Though Dr. Cooper also wrote pieces using preexisting sacred texts, for the purposes of this analysis, I also decided to eliminate pieces which had other texts so that Dr. Cooper's voice both textually and musically would be highlighted. What follows is a piece by piece analysis of the context and construction of each piece.

Open for Us the Gates of Heaven

Open for Us the Gates of Heaven was originally a choral piece written for Christmas Eve service in 1978. The original piece was later re-imagined for soloist and organ for an occasion when the same message of the text was needed but the choir was either not available or not desired. The piece is written in a pseudo simple binary form AB where there are no repetitions and though the first sections of the A and B as somewhat similar, the second portion of the A and B sections differ substantially. The solo version for voice and organ is in the same form and was discovered in the library of St. Luke's church where Cooper once served. There is not a date on it but the solo version of the piece maintains chordal harmonies and voicings in the organ that are essentially the same as the choral writing and the solo line is taken from the soprano and tenor lines of the original in various measures. Although Cooper did not date this rearrangement, the piece uses the same structural figures of arcis, recitation, thesis, incise, and member sections in each of the three phrases as in the original composition. In the Figure.4.2 diagram, you can see the sections illustrated in a phrase. Going from left to right, you can first see the rising arcis which leads to the tenor and is followed by the thesis which rises to the modal fifth and closes the phrase. This phrase is complete because it has 4 incise

sections and 2 member sections. This also mirrors the overarching structure of the piece. Cooper places a postlude for the organ at the end of the piece as a finishing touch. This prelude ends with a sonic amen in the form of a plagal cadence. Though this is a typical ending for church music, I believe Cooper's use of it here serves as a signifyin(G) musical element. The normative use of the plagal ending customarily signifies an "amen" and comes from centuries-old sacred music practices when this word usually accompanied the pitches in a falling gesture.

***Open for Us the Gates of Heaven* Analysis - Glossary**

Arcis-rise group; ascending gesture from tonic to recitation pitch.
Recitation- pitch most repeated during phrase; usually dominant.
Thesis- fall group or closing gesture from recitation pitch to tonic.

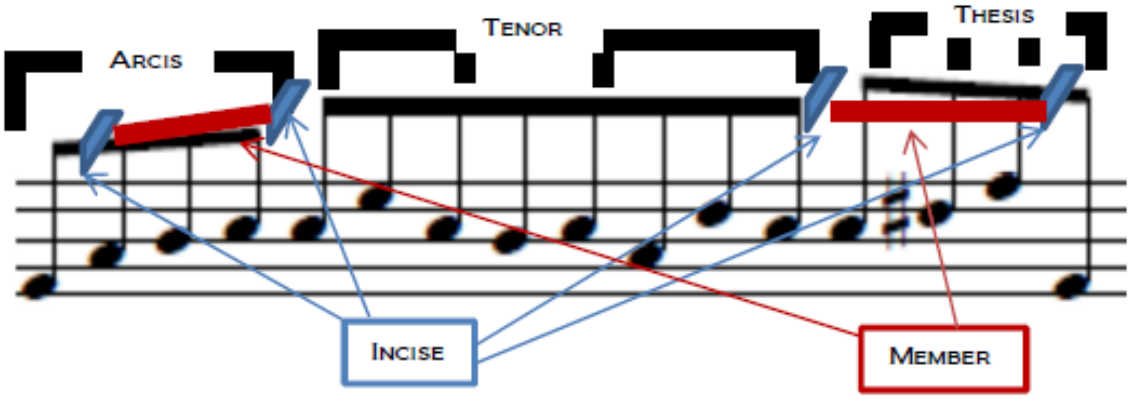


Figure.4.2. Diagram of *Open for Us* Phrase Construction

It is worth mentioning that, unlike the typical Anglican chant, this tenor is not a strictly adhered to recitation pitch without alteration. This is an instance where Cooper breaks, or even protests, the established stylistic

rules, though the spirit of the rules remains intact and the overall affect is also maintained.

Though there is a bucking of this rule or trend of recitation, the use, and specific placement, of this sonic amen is significant. Amen comes to modern usage from the languages of Hebrew, to Greek, to ecclesiastical Latin, and finally to Old English. It appears in the Greek portion of the bible called the Septuagint, and is translated as a solemn expression. In modern times, it is used adverbially in worship settings and is often understood as an expression of belief, agreement, or certainty. It is often interpreted as meaning "this is truth," or "so be it" in the modern context. In the sacred context, it is uttered most often at the end of a hymn or prayer though it has also come to be used in secular contexts as a response of concurrence with a statement. Its inclusion here in this sacred expression then is a logical extension of this linguistic tradition as this piece operates as a type of prayed hymn. This operation serves as a supplication, in this version by a single speaker, to God to open the gates of heaven. This supplication is a multi-layered textual reference which I believe, is reflected musically.

The overtly stated request is for the gates of heaven to be opened and for God to allow the priests to serve the congregation. The music is reverent and uses open fifth harmonies initially. This I believe is meant to convey a solemnness and humbleness to the speaker. The melody is

minor and modal in nature, which is a called the natural scalar musical form as opposed to the melodic or harmonic minor forms, and is used often in the long-standing sacred tradition of beseeching the Lord. This request for service increases to a pleading exhortation as the piece progresses. The desperation of the sung appeal is for both the literal and figurative service. The serving of communion at Christmas is the literal and overt textual reference as a means of service. The covert, and therefore implied, meaning of this appeal to the speaker's God is for access to eternal life. Comprehending this requires theological framing for understanding.

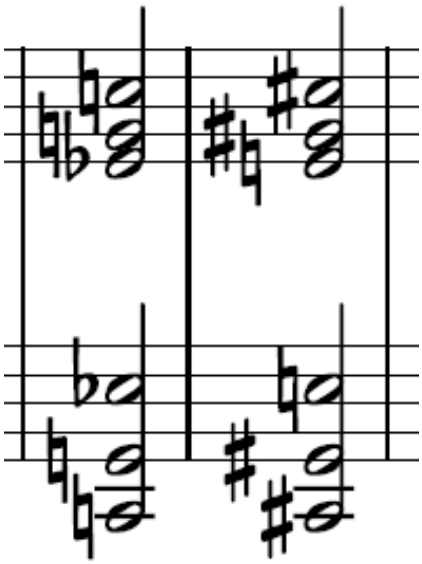
This text is a prayer requesting an absolution of the speaker's sins, a conference of salvation to them and access to eternal life via the gates of heaven for the speaker's soul upon departure from the Earth. This request to "open for us the gates of heaven" is, therefore, made as a loaded request that all of these things will be made possible. Theologically speaking, the requirements of expressed belief in God and Jesus as his son, confession of sins, and reconciliation with God's creation must be met before the taking of communion. In other words, taking communion, which is requested in the text as the service of the priests, is a means to accessing eternal life and opening the gates of heaven for the speaker.

Because there is also a theological belief that these acts —namely of professed belief, confession of sin, and reconciliation with the creation of God— will make accessible salvation to the speaker through their belief in Jesus, there is an expectation or desire for a supernatural affirmation of this atonement and access to the speaker by God. I believe that Dr. Cooper purposefully uses this cadence here to both close the piece in a sacredly customary way, the saying of "amen," and to signify the actual opening of Heaven's gates as a reply to the imploring of the text's speaker. The musical postlude as a whole seems to serve as a musical representation of the words traveling to heaven, being heard by God, and the supplication being answered, "so be it."

This Day May Christ Be Known to You

The next piece, *This Day May Christ Be Known to You*, is structured in rounded binary form and is not dated. The outer sections, referenced as the (A) sections, are tonal and bookend the middle section, called (B), which is very dissonant. This juxtaposition of consonance and dissonance in this piece is not entirely out of the ordinary for the more restrained sacred style of traditional Anglican worship music, such as that of Ralph Vaughan Williams, but the degree to which it is used here is important to note. I believe the usage is intentionally reflective of the text. Christ is known and order reigns on all levels in the A and A' sections. The same is not the case in the B section.

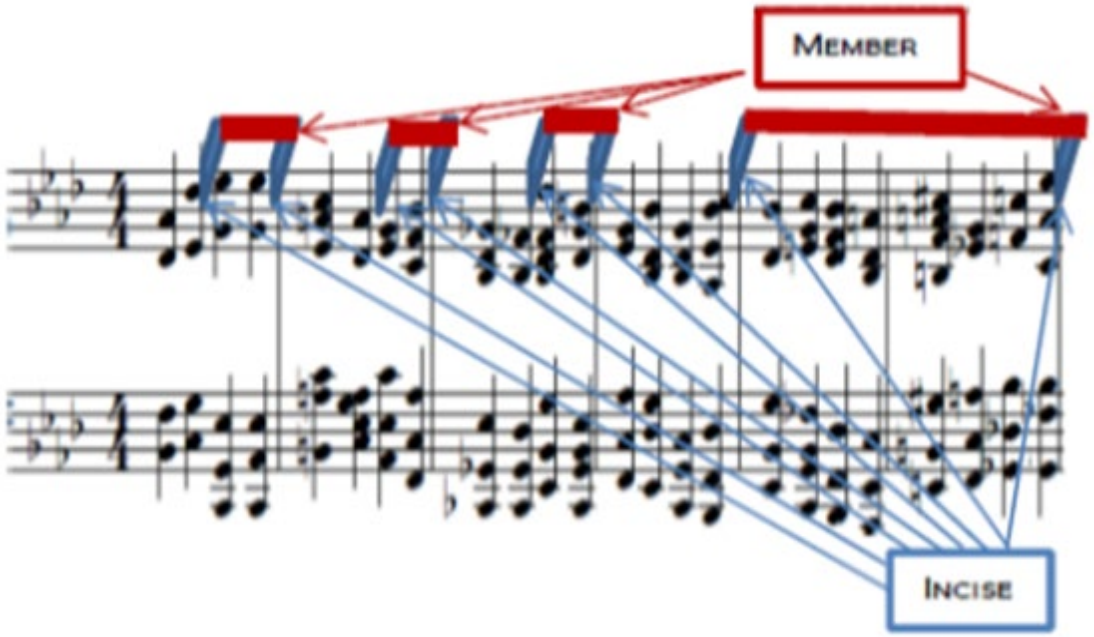
There is also a difference worth noting between the original A statement and the reprise. The most immediately noticeable difference between the A and A' section lies within the text. Musically, the A' section is exactly one half step higher than the A section. I believe this is because the text changes from "This day *may* Christ be known to you" to "this day *is* Christ now known to you" and this change in the enlightenment of the speaker is reflected in the elevation of key paralleling the consciousness. In Example.4.2 below, you will see a side by side comparison of the same chord from the A and A' sections.



Example.4.2. Chord Comparison A vs A' in *This Day May Christ Be Known to You*

You will note that every note on the right is one half-step higher than the notes on the left. This kind of relationship between chords in the A and A' sections continues throughout the A' section. In this way, the A and A' sections relationship as an overarching manifestation of text-painting is made evident but, the middle B section is entirely different.

The middle section uses extended chords with unorthodox chord voicing. By voicing the chord with the extended notes in this way, Cooper confuses the ear and conceals the harmonic progression. I believe this confusion in the middle section is meant to reflect the text in which the wandering nature of man before knowing Christ is introduced. In Example.4.3, the B section shows that, once the chords are voiced customarily, the progression moves in a very orderly manner maintaining standard harmonic chordal relationships. In Example.4.3., you will see the chords voiced in the customary way. Each chord is part of an incise and is related very logically to the chords around it. This proves that, even in what looks and sounds somewhat chaotic at first, Cooper's music still has order and a specificity of purpose. This is reinforced when considered with regard to the text.



Example.4.3. B section Chord Progression *This Day May Christ Be Known to You*

Dleifregnad

The next piece for analysis and consideration is an excerpt from Act 1 of *Dleifregnad*, Cooper's second opera in his opera cycle *Dleifregnad,* which was commissioned in 1981 by the Wissahickon Opera Company. This piece is representative of Cooper's Germanic style. This excerpt is characterized by a melody that is triadic in nature with few stepwise movements which I view as falling in line with musical settings of conventional speech patterns. Chromaticism and dissonance are also important elements of this style as they are in late German Romantic music. These elements and practices, as well as that of leitmotif, subjects from Norse-adjacent mythology, and through-composition, make

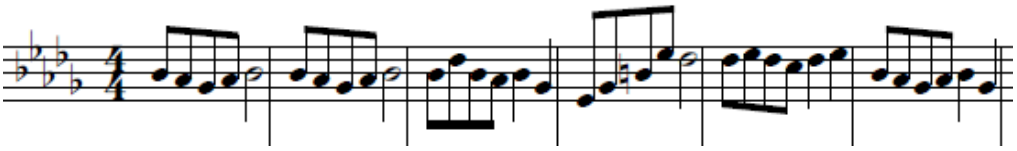
the works in this style very similar generally to operatic tradition and specifically to the gesamtkunstwerk of Richard Wagner.[6] [7]

Wagner's revolutionary ideas which culminated in his operatic cycle called *The Ring of Nibelungen* are evidenced in Cooper's opera cycle called *Dleifregnad*. Just the fact that he wrote a cycle of operas instead of single, unrelated operas is significantly similar. Because this piece is also through-composed, the example for analysis necessarily starts in the middle of something. It starts at what I will call the end of the overture and shows the transition to King Evarrg's leitmotif. We enter the plot sequence on the opera where the queen of Merridellia has offended the Versperian Queen, Maelestrata. This happened 500 years ago and, as a result, Maelestrata has locked herself into a room in a tower in her castle. This has caused great strife in the two kingdoms and the king is imploring his wife to relent and speak to him. As is customary with compositions in Wagner's style, each character, place, and important idea, theme, or object has their own leitmotif. Following is an example of the Merridellian leitmotif.

---

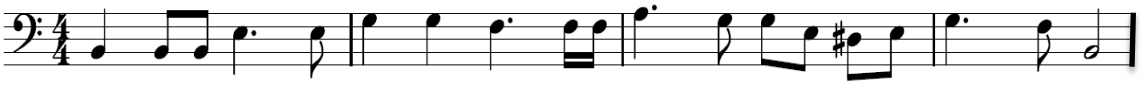
[6] Grey, Thomas S. *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

[7] Treadwell, James. *Interpreting Wagner*. New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2003.

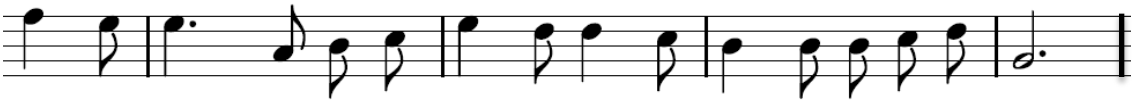


Example.4.4. The Merridellian Leitmotif

Because Maelestrata is so offended, her husband Evarrg has been trying to get her to talk to him about what happened for 500 hundred years with no luck. The queen, Maelestrata, has allowed him into the room but won't talk to Evarrg. I deduce this is because he has not spoken to her in her leitmotif. It seems that he comes to this realization himself. I believe the idea dawns on him because, after there is a long pause near the end of the excerpt, he literally changes his tune. After the pause, Evarrg has modulated from his key of e minor to his wife's key of F major, changed time signatures from 4/4 time to her time signature of 3/4 and is now singing her language. It is only after this change in key and time signature that his wife speaks to him, so the adjustments must have been necessary. See Example.4.4. for the melody before the changes and Example.4.5. for an excerpt from Maelestrata's melody.



Example.4.5. Evarrg's melody before the key and time signature change)



Example.4.6. Maelestrata's melody excerpt

The excerpts are clearly quite different. There are many things that are noteworthy about this change. First, the meter of Queen Maelestrata's leitmotif is a typical dance meter. King Evarrg's leitmotif is not written in a typical dance meter and so the modulation necessary for his adjustment is substantial metrically. Second, her leitmotif is written in an irregular manner for a simple meter. Instead of writing the rhythm with the principle beats easily identifiable, the rhythm is written to obscure whether it belongs to a simple or compound time signature. The simple version would have syncopations tied together across the principle beats.

The use of such a typical dance meter for the Queen suggests to me that the dancing is significant to Cooper's conception of the character. Since the characters in the opera are based on members of his family, it is reasonable to say that this may be a nod to Cooper's wife since she was a dancer herself.[8] The syncopated sonic and metrically ambiguous visual appearance of the leitmotif is also significant. She is a complicated and sophisticated woman who can dance, and otherwise operate, in both a simple and compound manner. The Queen speaking to the King only when his words metrically danced and changed to a major key is also an interesting significance. Instead of the plodding 4/4 time

[8] Naomi Dobson, interview by author, 3 March 2012, live interview, Philadelphia, PA.

signature of the King, she speaks with a lilting elegance and an optimistic quality which he must match to communicated effectively.

The King's leitmotif is also interesting to examine. His minor key suggests that he may be more pessimistic than she and less elegant as well with a more common time signature. His rhythmic setting is not syncopated nor is it metrically ambiguous. This is possibly because he is a more stodgy and stubborn character. Curiously, the leitmotif rhythmically emphasizes the third beat of each bar despite being written in a 4/4 time signature. This may suggest either the influence of the Queen on the King or, what I believe more likely, that the King and Queen both align in their core beings in some way which is here represented as occurring in multiples of 3 beats. She dances her way and he marches his but they share common ground.

You Touched My Hand

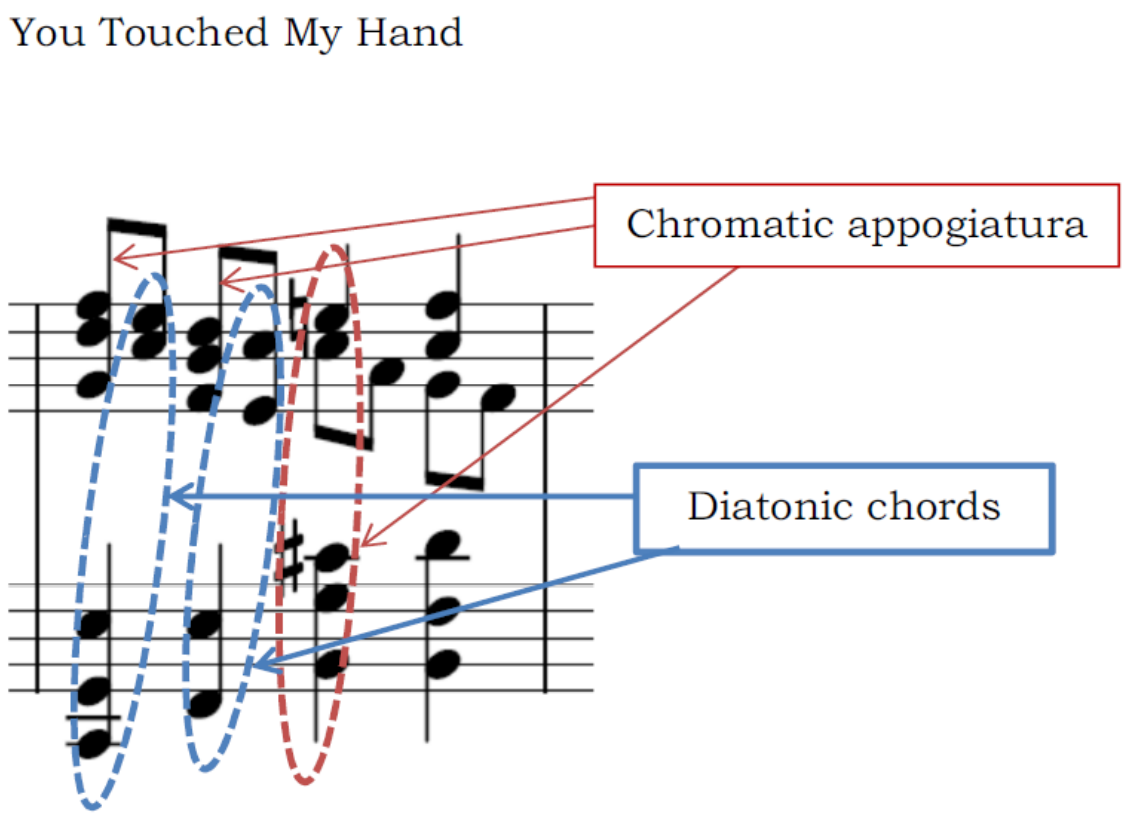
You Touched My Hand is in Cooper's Fusion style. The Fusion style is characterized by pieces which display a combination of elements from the European and African American sonic aesthetics and idioms. An example of a European idiom is the use of bi-tonal chords in otherwise mono-tonal passages and an example of an African American idiom is the use of chord substitution: iv for V^6, iii for I^6_4. Pieces in this style employ the practices of free chromaticism incorporation, using extended

harmonic vocabularies, and chord substitution. Cooper's pieces in this category are *You Touched My Hand*, *To You* and *Lord I Have Seen*.

The first piece, *You Touched My Hand*, was published by Cooper through the Dangerfield Music Company in 1981, to commemorate his twenty-fifth wedding anniversary. The piece is also structured in a rounded binary, ABA', form with a text written by Cooper. The text captures the first moments of true love and the ecstasy Cooper must have felt the moment when he and his wife Marilyn first met 25 years prior. The speaker is so overcome with emotion that he cannot even speak in the B section. All of these emotions rolling around inside the subject show up in the integration of chromaticism into the harmonic language. This is not a turbulent invocation of emotion however. I hear the piece retaining a lilting, loving quality with the sweetness of wistful nostalgia. The chord harmonies, though chromatic and dissonant in the manner common to extended harmonies, are heard in juxtaposition. I believe that Cooper juxtaposes the moments of harmonic clarity with dissonance through falling, and sometimes slowly resolving, gestures to convey the disorienting onslaught of emotions.

The text painting employed in this piece also portrays emotional subtext. There are fine examples of how Dr. Cooper's music and text serve as symbiotic partners in *You Touched My Hand*. As the text speaks about wonderful passion, the music in Example 4.5 occurs in the

accompaniment. It shows an example of the employment of chromaticism and unprepared dissonances which align with textual syllabic significances. This example is specifically showing an example of Cooper deploying chromatic appoggiaturas for expressive purposes.



Example.4.7. Chromaticism in *You Touched My Hand*

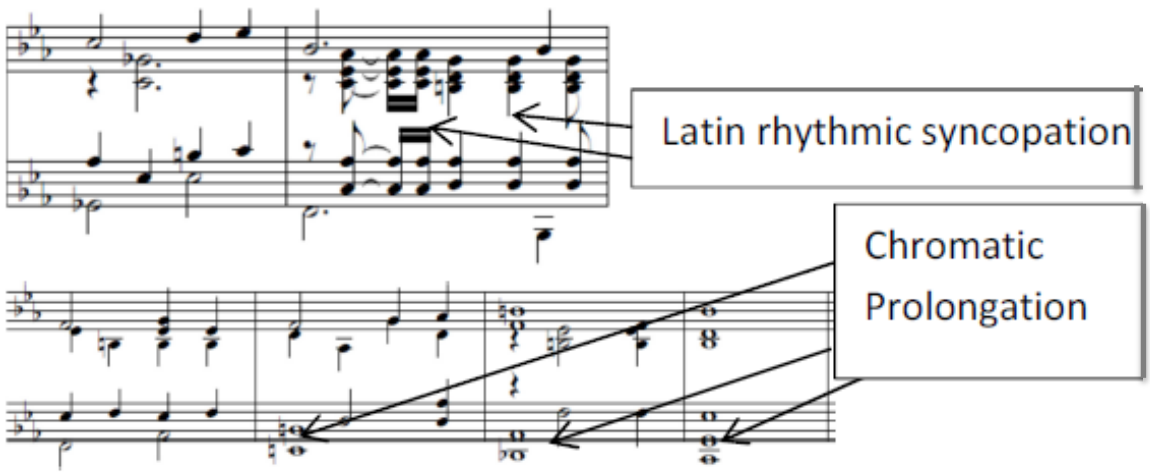
I have circled the chords and drawn arrows to the non-chord tones. The dotted red circle is noted differently because it is musically unique. The first two blue circles only have chromatic material in one clef and the dotted red circle has a strong beat appoggiatura with chromaticism in both clefs. Additionally, this disorientation is so entrenched in the piece that it can be seen in the overarching harmony. This piece sounds like it

is in the key of Eb but it is actually in Bb. In order to achieve this, Cooper sends his harmonic structures on a constant prolongational spiral via deceptive cadence back to the V, making it sound like a temporary tonic to the ear, and does not resolve the progression correctly for the 20 measures of text. By harmonically leading the ear to believe that the tonic is actually the dominant, the composer disorients traditional musical practice just as much as the subject is disoriented.

To You

The next piece in the Fusion style is *To You*. This piece was also published in 1981 and was written to be performed as a set with *You Touched My Hand* at the wedding anniversary party. This piece, like the first, is also written in rounded binary form, ABA', though it differs from *You Touched My Hand* in a few ways. This piece does not repeat text and, therefore does not exactly repeat any music. The repetitious materials are however sufficiently related that calling them A and A' sections is entirely appropriate. The harmonic progression in the A and A' stays basically unchanged but there are a few substituted chords and the melody is slightly altered in order to undergird the text. The lyrics Cooper penned for this piece are very intimate and passionate. It is paired with music that has an equally intimate, nostalgic quality to it. The piece uses parallel, almost planing, chord sequences and some extended harmonies. This gesture, plus the extended harmonies, adds an

air of French romantic periodic aesthetics to the piece. This approach to text setting contributes a lilting, wistful ethos to the music. I would argue that this is because this piece is meant to describe the overall consistency, and underlying undulation, of twenty-five plus years of love instead of the disorientation of the first encounter of true love seen in *You Touched My Hand*. The Latin-inspired rhythmic syncopation that you hear in the accompaniment is the only sonic element that I believe Cooper meant to link to the disorientation of the first encounter. I also believe that it implies that, even after twenty-five plus years, Cooper is still "crazy" about his lovely wife and thinks often about the moment they first met. It also serves to underscore the importance of dancing in their relationship. I also see the chromatic prolongations as possibly describing the slowly shifting dynamics in a long-term relationship. The love, which Cooper calls "rare" in his text, strength, and longevity of their relationship I believe is reflected in this prolongational technique. As the anticipation for harmonic resolution builds, it is paired textually with an illustration of the dread of mortality and the leaven of love over the passing of the years. These two musical gestures are captured and considered in Example.4.7.



Example.4.8. Rhythms and Chromaticism in *To You*

The upper line of music in Example 4.7 is an example of the Latin-inspired rhythmic syncopations that can be found in the piece. Here Cooper leaves a cultural crumb when he invokes the topic of African diasporic dance. This piece, being written in a most intimate sphere, is not a compositional choice which one should take lightly. It speaks to the importance of dance, and specifically diasporic dance, to Cooper and the relationship of the Coopers. It was something which was an element of safety and security in their relationship and can even be interpreted as signifyin(G) home and belonging. The lower line of music displays the chromatic prolongation that I believe is an inference of relational stability which operates beneath the shifting dynamics of daily life. These shifting dynamics are exemplified by the off-beat rhythms and accompanimental figures in the second line of music in Example.4.7.

In addition to being in the same key, these two songs share form and tell a story when placed next to one another. The use of the jazz harmonic vocabulary as a similarity is important. *To You* is nostalgic and includes a short chromatic harmonic prolongation juxtaposed with the Latin rhythms while *You Touched My Hand* is nostalgic and includes the falling chromaticism and an elongated harmonic prolongation. These shared elements between the songs, and the depth of meaning in each, means that each piece tells a part of the story of the two lovers John and Marilyn; from the beginning of the story, when love first struck, through the endurance of the love after many years together is captured here. The identity of the two, therefore, is intertwined with the notes and words on the pages of these pieces. Due to this connected nature, it is arguable that these two pieces should not be presented to or digested by an audience as two separate entities but instead are two parts of a whole much like the spouses in a marriage. This also means that we can see glimpses of how Marilyn affected John both at first and after the maturing of the years.

Lord I Have Seen

The last piece in the Fusion style, *Lord I Have Seen,* is the initial composition of Dr. Cooper's that piqued my interest. My contact with this piece began as a child and has continued in various forms and situations as both a congregational hymn and a solo piece. Because I enjoyed

singing and playing this piece so much, I started on this journey of inquiry and have dedicated myself to finding and analyzing the music and life of Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper. This piece was published in 1980 by Dangerfield Music Company based on the dated score. Though this is the date printed on the oldest score I found, the piece has a curious history.

Lord I Have Seen is believed to have originally been written by Cooper in the 1960's. This contention is espoused by a few of the friends and family sources that I collected[9] [10]. They believe it was originally written by a then young John Cooper at a pivotal moment right before he started his studies for his Ph.D. in Theology. He had a realization, or "saw the light," [11] and realized his life's purpose was not tied to the stage but to the priesthood. From several conversations, it seems that this piece captures Cooper's personal story of religious conviction and a conversion of sorts in his life's aims. These words, and the accompanying music, were inspired by this moment of conversion as he rededicated himself to fulfilling his life's purpose by pursuing his theological education and service to all humanity as his mother taught him.

---

[9] Naomi Dobson, interview by author, 3 March 2012, live interview, Philadelphia, PA.

[10] Carolyn Cooper-Smith, interview by author, 20 January 2013, Phone interview, Alexandria, VA.

[11] Ibid.

This renewed sense of purpose is curious because of Cooper's personal and educational history. Since Cooper was born to a musical family, began playing music in the church, and followed in his grandmother's, father's and eldest brother's footsteps as the family church organist, it would seem that being a church musician was something of a predestined occupation and foregone conclusion for him. Cooper also received a degree in theology from Lincoln University, wrote a treatise on the historic Liturgy of the Eucharist, and taught in the seminary at Lincoln. This too strongly suggests Cooper had an interest in ministry. The similarities in the retelling of this story of Cooper's conversion and rededication by both his former choir member and daughter ascribe some veracity to this story. That veracity and the fact that Cooper pursued his doctorate in music first and theology second suggests that there was indeed an opportunity for a moment of redirection memorialized in the creation of the piece and, though this conclusion of Cooper as a church musician is logical, it arrived via a circuitous route in his personal life.

This piece is one in which Cooper combines Anglican chant structures, a pentatonic scale, and an adaptation of a blues harmonic progression.[12] Initially, I did not have a score for this piece as a solo, aside from what was in my hymnal, but I knew one had to exist because

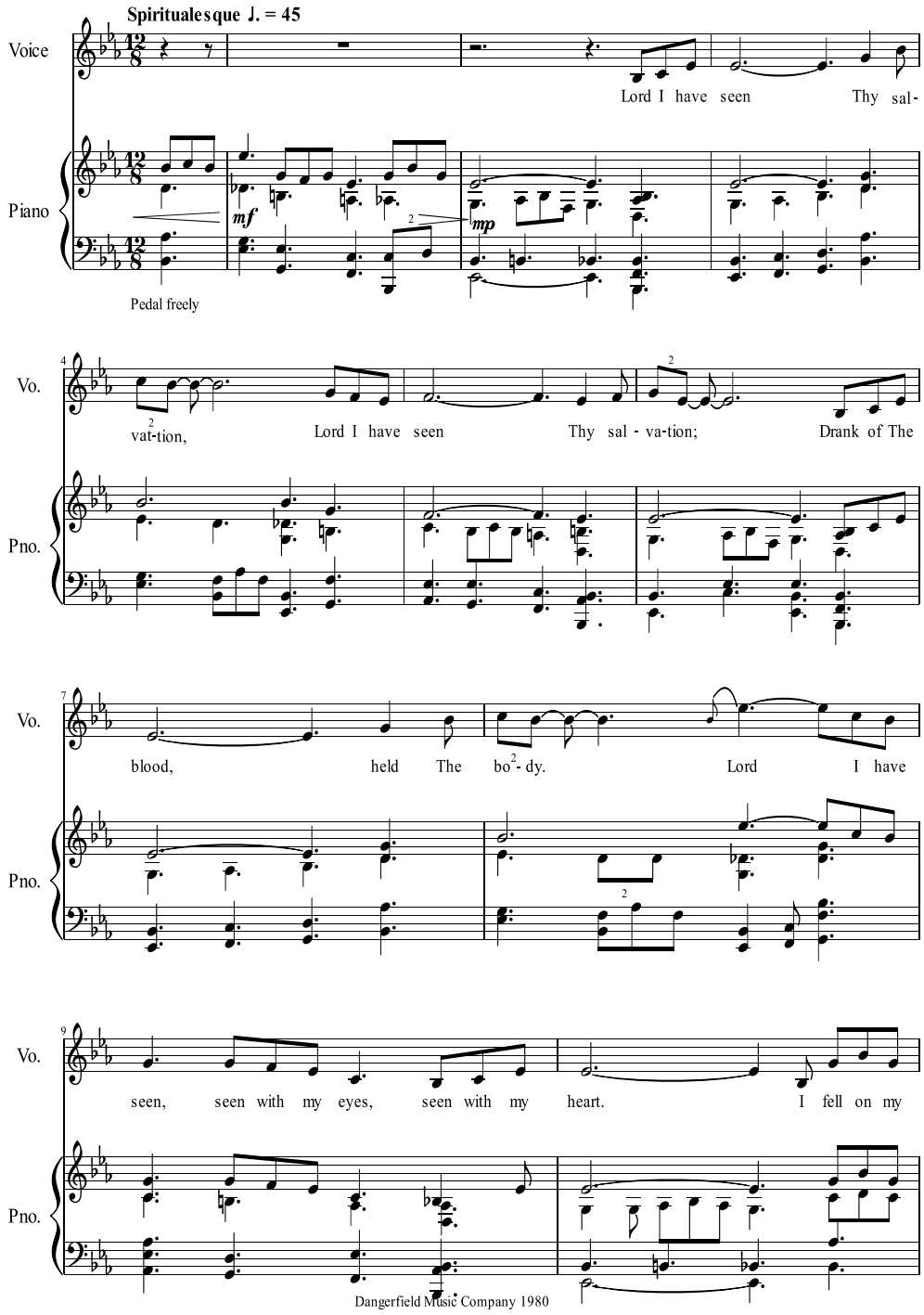
---

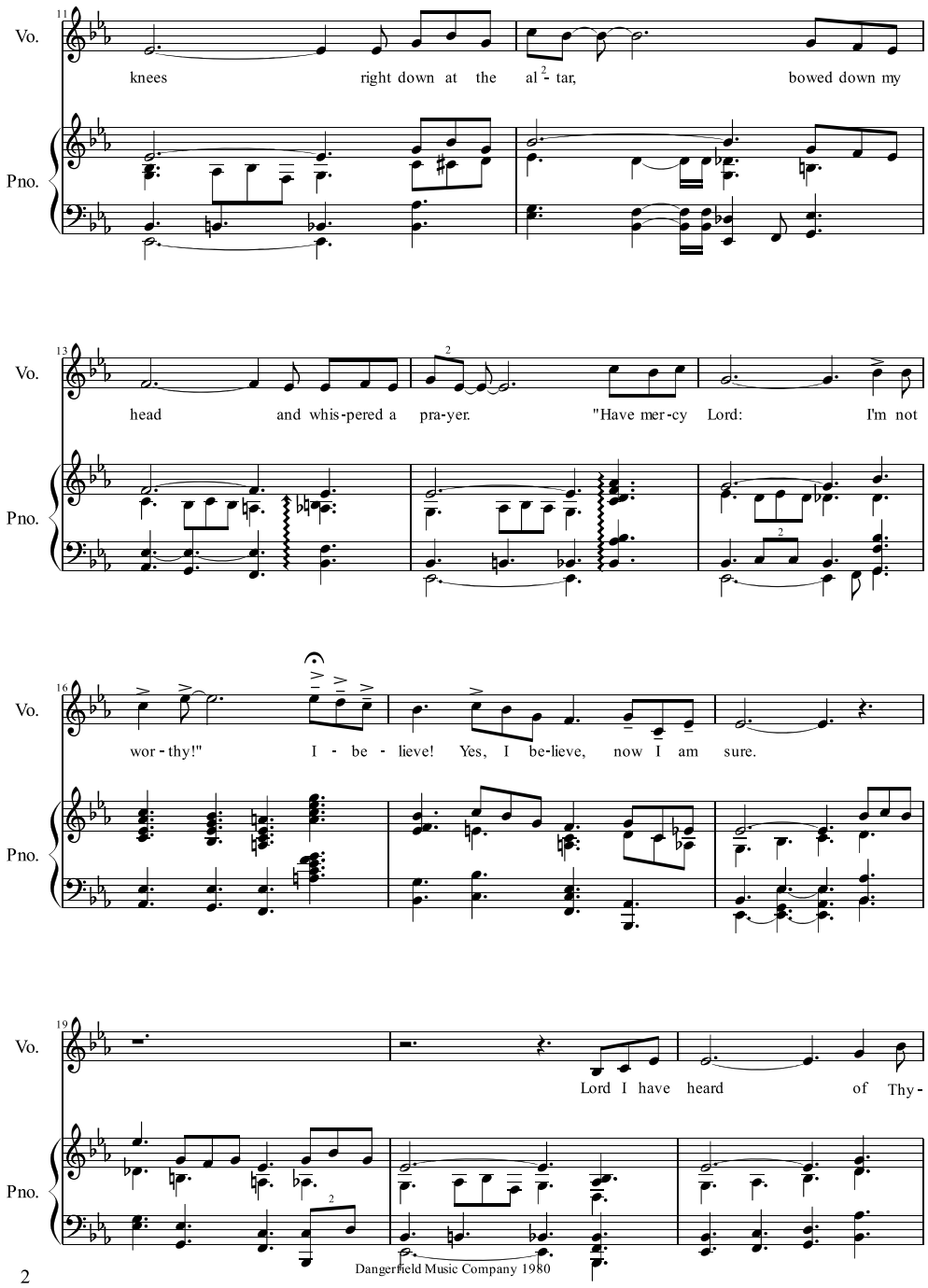
[12] Heble, Ajay. *Landing on the Wrong Note: Jazz, Dissonance, and Critical Practice*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

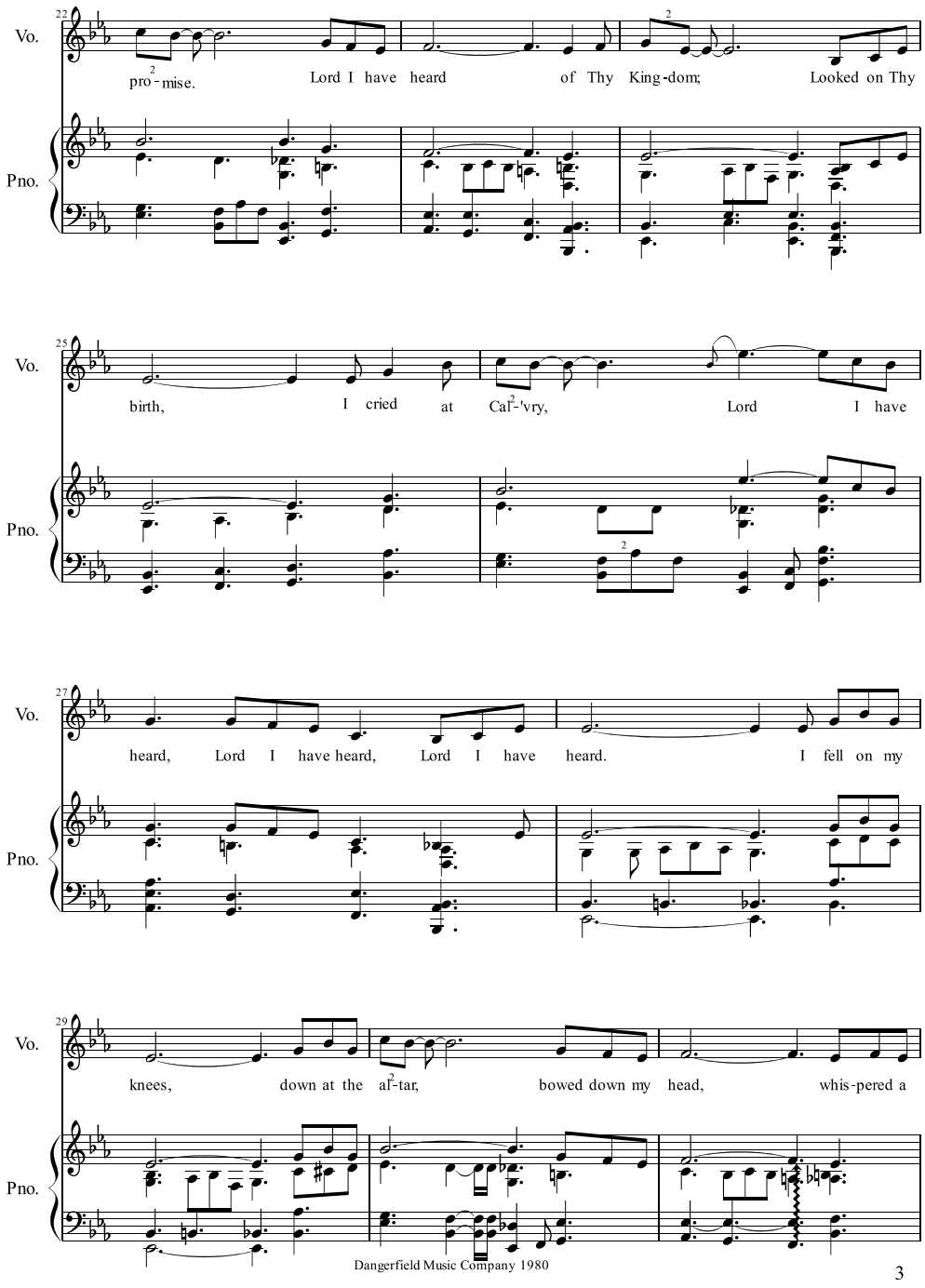
I had heard a version performed as such. To address this, I transcribed a recording of one of his students from Lincoln, Andrea Jones Sojola, performing the song as a solo. After I transcribed the video, I transposed the transcription so that I could sing it more comfortably, as I had sung the hymn, and I began my analysis with this version. The YouTube recording I found of Sojola was taken from a live performance on February 1, 2001 with the American Spiritual Ensemble. It is the transposed transcription of this precise performance that is included here. My transcription can be found in Example.4.8. and Example.A.9.

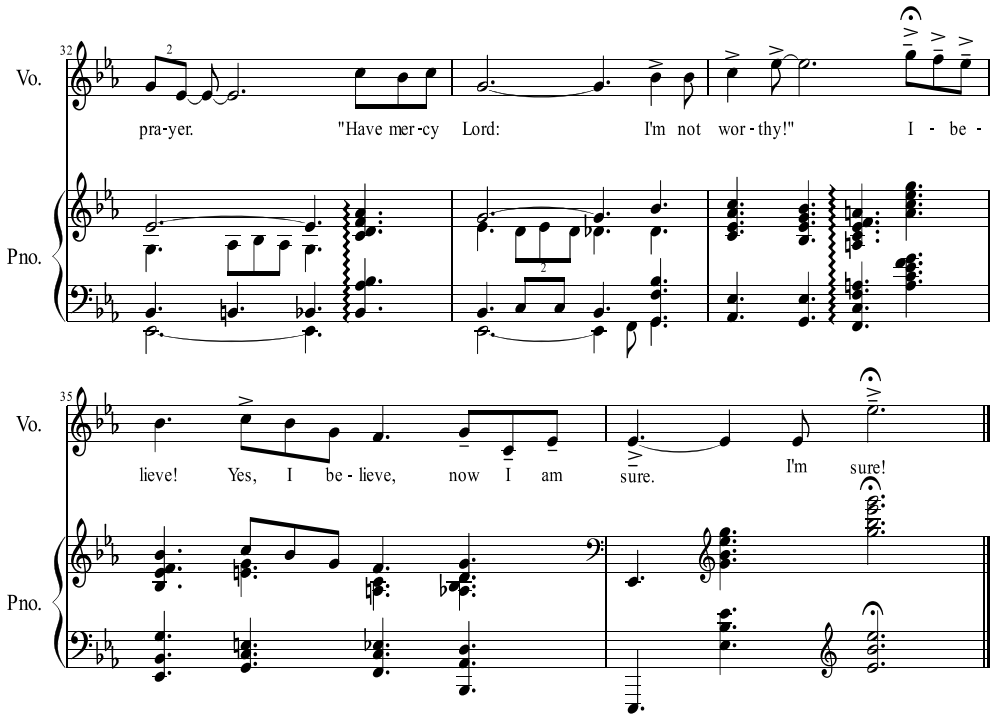
Lord I Have Seen

Music: Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper
Poetry: Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper









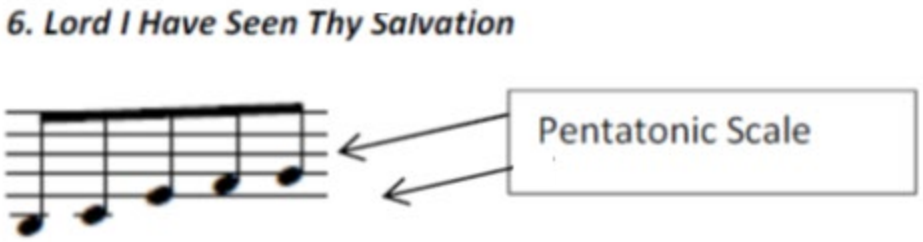
4

Example.4.9. *Lord I Have Seen* Transcription, transposed to Eb

The aforementioned elements present in this piece, specifically Anglican chant structures, a pentatonic scale, and an adaptation of a blues harmonic progression, are a portion of the features I gleaned from my own analysis which I have used for my performances of this piece. They are significant because they represent a combination of European and African American idioms that I believe Cooper chose to combine because they were a fundamental part of the language of his African American sacred musical experience. He identified very closely with these things so, whether the choice was a literal, conscious sequence of decisions or a subconscious sequence, I still believe that they are a manifestation of the combinations of expression which exist in the simultaneous facets of his identity and consciousness. As such, they represent artifacts that confirm his identity as a composer who is a Black, Anglican, gospel-exposed, Christian man. This musical language is deeply personal and shows the elements with which he constructed his personal, sacred sphere. Because he used them on such a reverent and personal subject, it tells us that these were fundamental elements to this part of his identity.

The chant structures discussed earlier in this dissertation with the piece *Open for Us the Gates of Heaven* are also present here and are known to have come out of the plain-chant musical traditions of the Catholic and Episcopalian churches. The pentatonic scale is identified with African American musical practices as is the harmonic progression

codified as the 12–bar blues[13]. The pentatonic scale is present in many native ethnic cultures around the globe. It arises in African American culture by way of Negro spirituals and is firmly apart of African diasporic music traditions. In Figure.4.9., you will note that the pentatonic scalar building blocks used in the melody are spelled out.



Example.4.10. Pentatonic Scale Melody in *Lord I Have Seen*

These pentatonic scalar building blocks are quite significant here for their similarity to African American spirituals. This is reinforced by Cooper's interpretive instruction of "Σpiritualesque" which appears above the first line of the top system of the first page of Figure.4.12. This word is not germane to the English language and, therefore, requires unpacking. As with most things in regards to Dr. Cooper, the Σ usage as the substitute for the capital letter s is not insignificant. While the sigma is the Greek equivalent of the English letter S, it also has a different meaning. In mathematics, the symbol is used to mean "summation," "a total addition of a sequence," or "to sum up." It denotes a calculation

[13] Bruce Benward, and Marilyn Nadine Saker (2003). *Music: In Theory and Practice, Vol. I*, seventh edition. Boston: McGraw-Hill. ISBN 978-0-07-294262-0.

formula. This calculation is done to evaluate a function at a certain point and time in its operation which can signify to a computator things like the amount of interest gained on an investment over a specific time period. Since interest accruing on an investment means that value has been changed or added to something when summed, this Σ means that the singer must perform this piece with the knowledge that there is a change occurring and a value that has been added based on the experience in the text. This sum total operation is an evaluative process and can provide instructive data from which place an investor can make new decisions. In this same way, I believe Cooper made an assessment at his moment of realization and made a different decision. This piece representing the sum total of Cooper's experiences at the time he wrote it and changed his life's trajectory is what I believe the usage of this Greek letter means in this piece. The rest of the meaning of the word "Σ(s)piritualesque" requires a decoding of the historical and cultural implications of the word spiritual.

The word spiritual has an easily identifiable religious implication. Since Cooper believed in God, and is dedicating his life to the service of God as a priest at the time this piece originated, the religious fervor of therein is unquestionable. This interpretive instruction certainly directs the singer to channel a religious sensibility into their execution of the music in performance. The instruction and use of pentatonicism also gives a nod to Cooper's heritage. The Negro spiritual which gives African

American culture the pentatonic melodic building blocks as well as influences all other subsequent forms of music is the deeper connotation of Cooper's expressive instruction.

By considering the legacy of Negro spirituals in the history of blackness in American and as the first form of American art songs, Cooper's creation of this piece as such a unique example of art music which serves as an invocation of the tradition of his enslaved Africans ancestors is at once logical and profound. It also functioning initially in the private sphere of his life as a personal declaration or manifesto which becomes a piece for the public sphere is also significant. This tradition of memorializing momentous life occurrences with music and ritual is Africanist. Rites of passage have these elements to mark them. Also, Cooper chose an oral means for the preservation and transferring of this experience from person to person and even generation to generation. This preservation technology is included in Cooper's action her because he knows of its operation procedures from the Africanist practices passed to him. *Lord I Have Seen* is a modern metered spiritual that Cooper creates during this episode of transition in his life. Because it includes the significance of spirituality, it is truly a very Africanist thing to do at a time in life such as Cooper encountered.

The piece captures Cooper's awe and reverence as feelings, but speaks also as a vehicle for his free expression of self. This is apparent in

this text. It is a very highly-spiritual and emotional form of expression as he relays this realization. I believe that this text and musical setting could even be argued to depict a scene where the speaker is experiencing what some call “getting happy.” It is clearly a profound expression of self and his “hearing” the Lord could be interpreted as a supernatural event. In order to properly approach this, I will refer to the quote from L. Jones for context on “getting happy”;

> It is here [at the "praise houses,” “praise nights,” or “prayer meetings”] that music becomes indispensable to any discussion of Afro-Christian religion ... "Spirit possession," as it is called in the African religions, was also intrinsic to Afro-Christianity. "Getting' the spirit," "getting' religion" or "getting' happy" were indispensable features of the early American Negro church and even today, of the non-middle-class and rural Negro churches. And always music was an important part of the total emotional configuration of the Negro church, acting in most cases as the catalyst for those worshipers who suddenly "feel the spirit."

This music and text, which Cooper conceived and then composed, I believe is deeply spiritual. He speaks of seeing salvation, witnessing the birth of Jesus, and holding Christ’s body and, whether figuratively or literally doing these things, being left with the impression of these experiences is the communication of a heightened emotional state. This potently spiritual moment for Cooper I believe may have been catalyzed by musical expression which is why he was originally so protective of it. This is a testimony for Cooper and what came out is culturally rich in nature. Remembering that it is true, and has been recorded by many

scholars that enslaved Africans retained elements of their culture when they were enslaved and transported to North America from Africa[14] [15] [16], it is important to note the very personal and specifically Africanist elements of this piece. I believe Cooper is harkening back to an early time in Afro-Christian religious practices by combining pentatonicism, gospel waltz, the juxtaposition of duple and triple meters and the use of chord substitutions and improvisational practice of ornamentation upon the chorus repetitions as a means to invoke his generational and ancestral heritage. This is all done to portray and express the potency of the moment.

The text Cooper wrote gives the audience a window into this moment in his life. The story unfolds with the speaker entering a conversation with the Lord, which is meant to signify the Lord God in heaven..

V
Lord I have seen Thy salvation, Lord I have seen Thy salvation;
Drank of the blood, held the body,
Lord I have seen, seen with my eyes, seen with my heart.

---

[14] L. Jones, *Blues People: The Negro Experience in White America and the Music That Developed From It,* New York, N. Y.: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1963.

[15] G.R. Ricks, *Some Aspects of the Religious Music of the United States Negro: An Ethnomusicological Study with Special Emphasis on the Gospel Tradition*, New York, N.Y.: Amo Press, 1977.

[16] Raymond Wise, "Defining African American gospel music by tracing its historical and musical development from 1900 to 2000," Electronic Thesis or Dissertation, Ohio State University, 2002, https://etd.ohiolink.edu/, 11-36.

R
Fell on my knees down at the Altar.
Bowed down my head, whispered a prayer.
“Have mercy Lord, I 'm not worthy!”
I believe! Yes I believe, now I am sure.

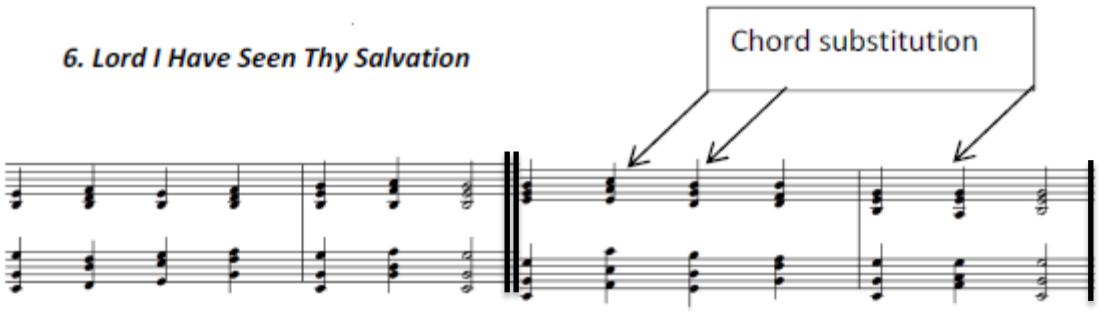
V
Lord I have heard of Thy Kingdom, Lord I have heard of Thy Promise.
Looked on Thy birth, cried at Calvary.
Lord I have heard, Lord I have heard, Lord I have heard.

R
Fell on my knees down at the Altar.
Bowed down my head, whispered a prayer.
“Have mercy Lord: I 'm not worthy!”
I believe! Yes I believe, now I am sure.

The salvation Cooper speaks about is the salvation similar to that of the speaker in *Open for Use the Gates of Heaven.* The taking of communion, drinking the blood and holding the body of Christ, means that a heavenly place is waiting for speaker’s soul because they believe in Jesus as the son of God and are joint heirs through Christ. However, this track is derailed quickly when the second verse arrives. It immediately recasts the first verse by causing the questioning of whether the “held the body” was synonymous with the “cried at Calvary” or if these are different indeed due their stanza placement. Because of this, the second verse takes a much more supernatural direction and seems to be conveying a possible double message. In addition, the repetition means that the performance practice condones a more improvisational, emotive, and expressive approach to the second verse. This is set to a steady

harmonic progression that is similar to a 12-bar blues which further invokes the Africanist aesthetic and genre paradigms.

Cooper adapts this harmonic progression and permutates it with chord substitutions which is also a common practice within African American music. Whether the genre is jazz, gospel, or blues, this practice of substituting or even entirely reharmonizing can be observed. This retention remains for Cooper's most personal sacred musical expression as there are examples of chord substitution present in this piece. Taken together, it is clear that all of these elements in the same piece represent a combination or fusion of elements across a rather unique spectrum of experience to form a fascinating conception of the creator's identity that is specific to a class, race and, arguably, gender. In Figure.4.5., the first progression present is used as a baseline. It is the basic or common progression. The second progression is altered by containing substitutions. Instead of a I - V^6 - I^6 - V^7 - I progression, Cooper substitutes iv for V^6, iii for I^6, and IV^7 for the last V^7 chord. The resulting progressions becomes I - iv - iii (or I^6addM7) -IV^7- I.



Example.4.11. Chord Progression options in *Lord I Have Seen*

If you play the two progressions above, you will hear and establish the first progression as your unaltered expectation and the substituted alterations in the second will stand out and become apparently different to your ears. What is essential to the operation of this substitution is that the overarching direction of the chord progression does not change but the relationships from chord to chord inside the progression change slightly. Here again, Cooper is breaking the Euro-centric harmonic rules without destroying the spirit or affect of the music, and he also invokes, or is signifyin(G), a cultural trope.

What is also fascinating to consider is the rhythm of this piece. It is written as a gospel waltz, meaning it is written in 4/4 and performed in 12/8. The rhythmic juxtaposition which takes place in the melody is also significant. The melody is so straightforward, that this rhythmic irregularity does not stand out immediately. However, when you compare measures two and three with measures three and four, the rhythmic oddity arises. The same thing happens again and again across the bar lines from measures four to five and five to six, six to seven and seven to eight, etc. The change of rhythmic declamation from the compound to the simple meter is quite significant.

The significance is signifyin(G) because it falls into the crosshairs of the spiritual and dance analytical paradigmatic topics. The compound meter to duple is the change from the lilting gospel waltz to the simple

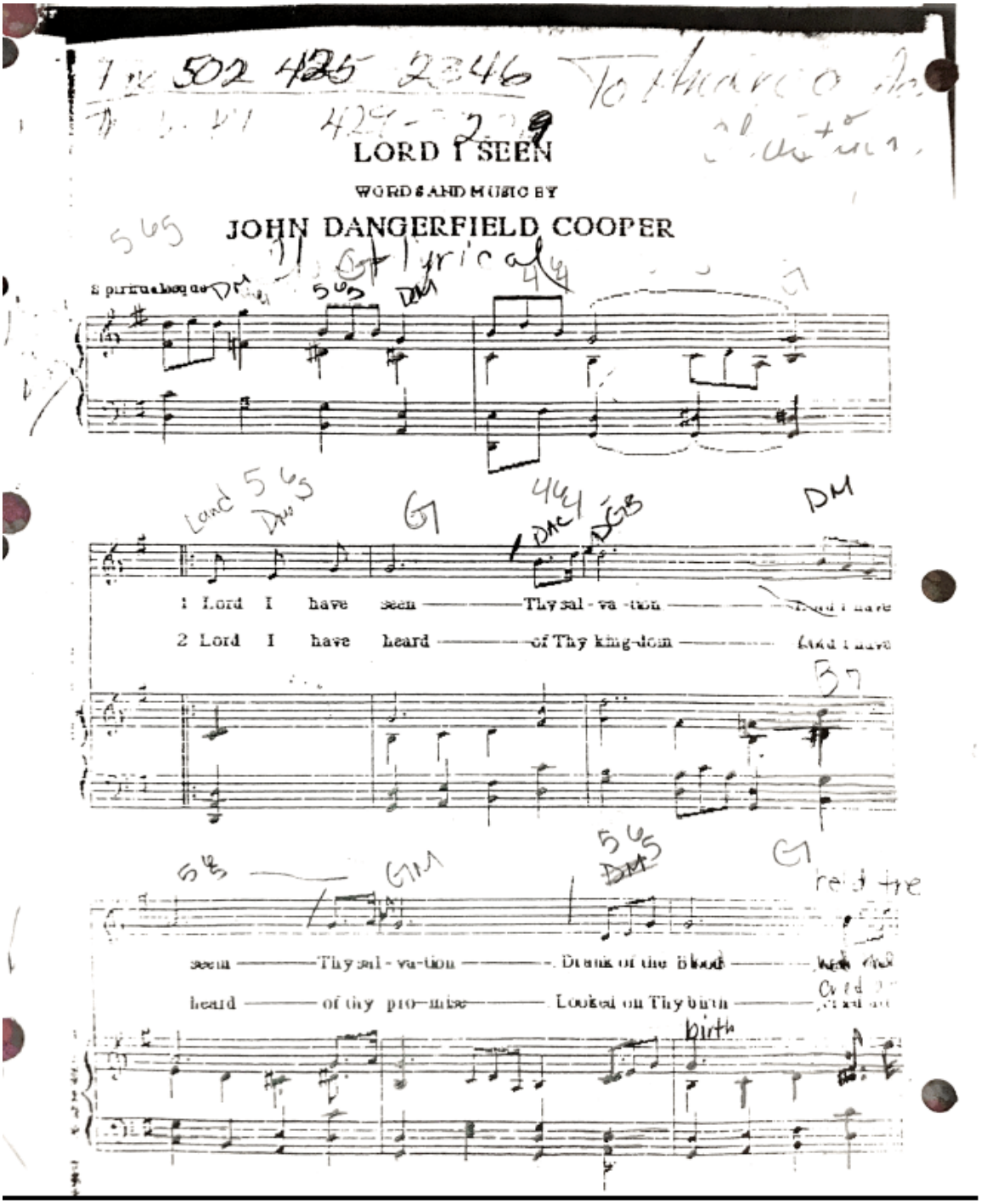
march, the African polyrhythmic or cross-rhythmic, to the Euro-centric homogenous rhythm. It serves to almost sanitize the melodic rhythmic trajectory of the piece. This halting juxtaposition, in and of itself, is almost an encapsulation of the duality of Cooper's existence, embodied and presented on the page. In my conversation with Dr. Cooper's student Andrea Jones Sojola, I was able to verify the rhythmic alteration was intentional and indeed stark. She agreed and said that he was firm about differentiating its declamation.[17] This jarring rhythmic declamation fits with my, and Dr. Carter's, deduction that there is an incongruency of musical phrasing when a moment of conscience shift occurs.[18] Also, the melodic anticipation in measure 8 is reminiscent of the shouts of joy from the choir stands and congregations of the black church experience in moments of great persona or corporate jubilation and exaltation. Mrs. Sojola provided to me the copy below, Example.4.12, which she used to learn and perform this piece many times.

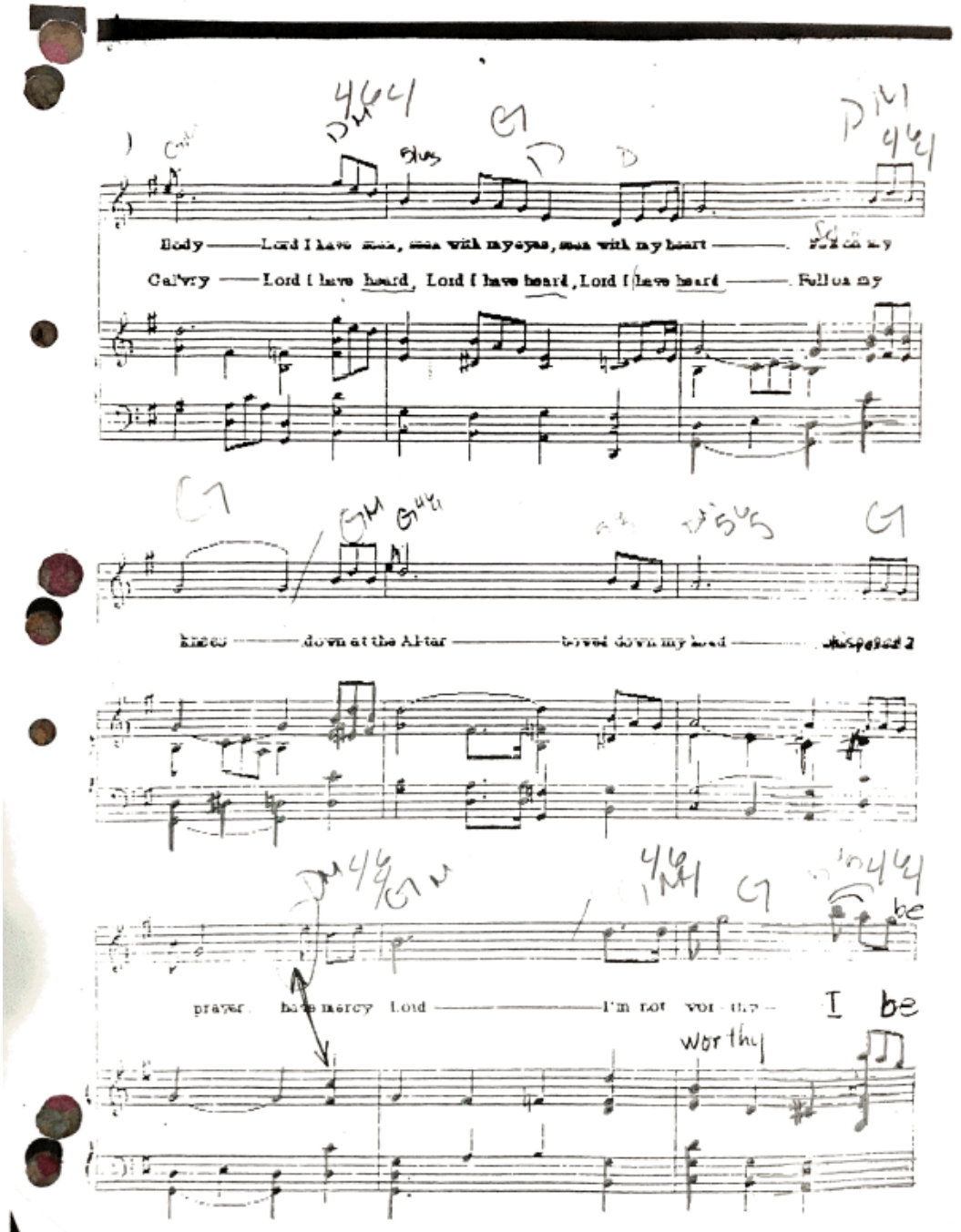
When I received it, I was struck by what was a clearly intentional ambiguity in the score. As is obvious upon inspection, there is no time signature on Mrs. Sojola's copy of this score. This was shocking, and slightly frustrating, at first. It also confirmed my belief about an

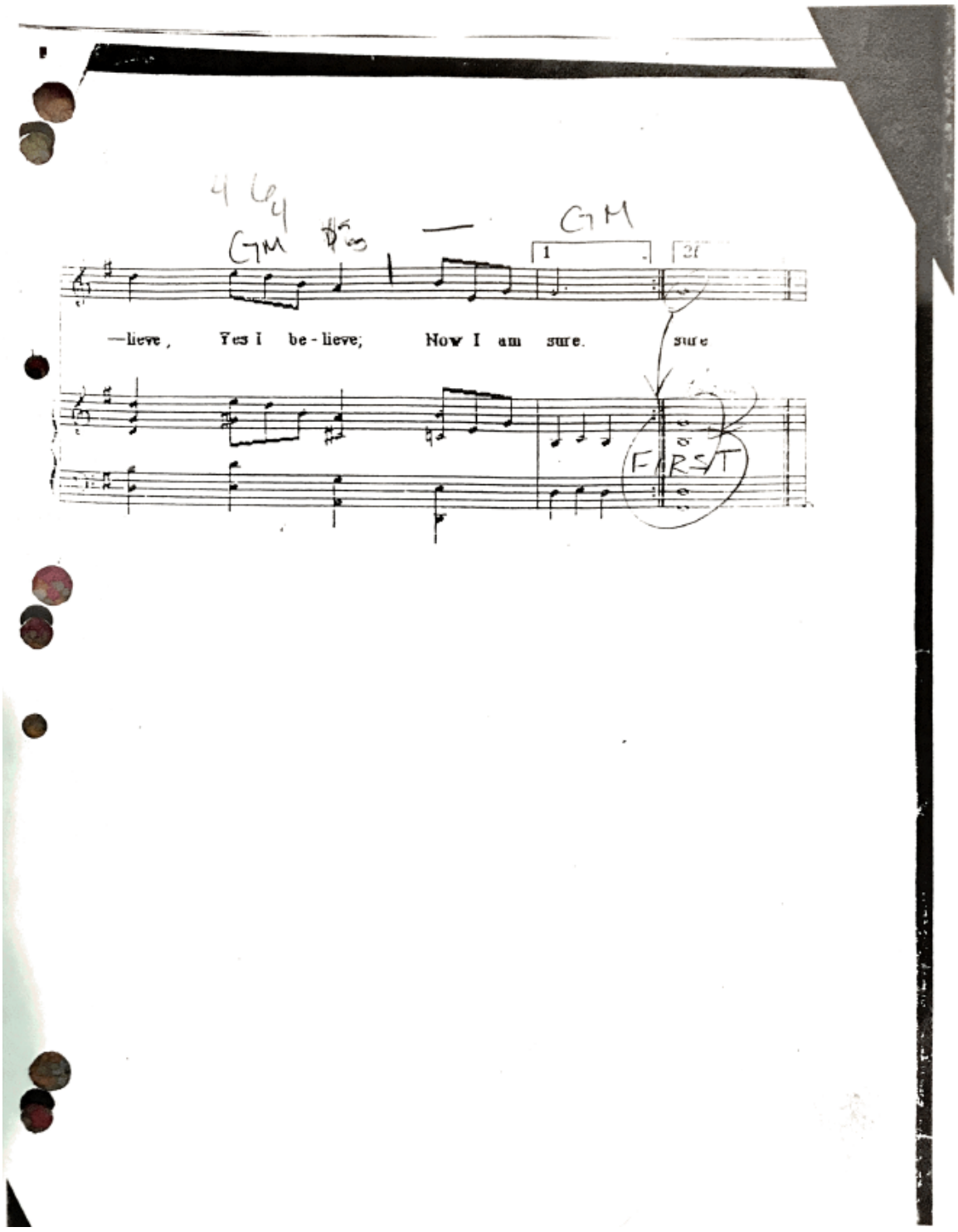
[17] Andrea Jones Sojola, interview by author, 19 March 2013, phone interview, New York, NY.

[18] Marquese Carter, "The Poet and Her Songs: Analyzing the Art Songs of Florence B. Price," D.M. thesis, Indiana University, 2018, 71.

operation of a doubleness of consciousness in this piece. If the piece was intended to solely be interpreted as if it was written in 12/8, it would require the quarter notes to be dotted, and they are not. If it were only in 4/4, the last measure of page 1, system 2 would appear to have too many notes for the number of beats. Also, the proper declamation, as taught by Cooper to Sojola, is not a grace note in measures two and three, three and four, three and four, etc. as it is written on the original version in Figure.4.11. but is that of a full value eighth note. A comparison of rhythms alone between my transcription and the original from Sojola is instructive. See Example.4.8. and Example.4.11. to execute the exercise of comparing and contrasting these two representations of this piece. It is also worth noting that the piece has been written on my Jones Sojola with chord analysis for the purposes of accommodating the needs of an accompanying collaborator. Because the piece has sounds in it like that which a non-music reading pianist might play at a rural church, she wrote in guiding symbols to help for the use of this piece in her home church.


LORD I SEEN
WORDS AND MUSIC BY
JOHN DANGERFIELD COOPER
1 Lord I have seen Thy sal-va-tion
2 Lord I have heard of Thy king-dom
seem Thy sal-va-tion Drank of the blood
heard of thy pro-mise Looked on Thy birth


Body —— Lord I have seen, seen with my eyes, seen with my heart ——. Follow my
Calvary —— Lord I have heard, Lord I have heard, Lord I have heard ——. Follow my
knees —— down at the Altar —— bowed down my head ——
prayer —— have mercy Lord —— I'm not wor thy —
I be
wor thy



Example.4.12. Jones Sojola score of *Lord I Have Seen*

All of the markers of cultural crumbs and identity artifacts in this analytical paradigm, Call and response, Blues, Jazz, Spirituals, Signifyin(G), and Gospel, are all encapsulated and operating in this one piece. The presence of Call and response is seen between the piano and the singer, Blues and Jazz in the harmonies, Spirituals in the text, pentatonicism, and expressive instructions, Signifyin(G) in the testifying of the speaker and abrupt shifts of declamation, and African Diasporic Dance in the ambiguous meter and cross-rhythmic text declamation. Cooper called this piece his personal "Bist du bei mir" and the sense of dedication and release of emotions is overwhelmingly evident once all the elements are considered with proper framing.[19] It shows that he was truly a man of two warring worlds in one dark body. This dueling doubleness is a significant challenge but, he clearly went into what he saw as his purpose with joy and the resulting music is a fascinating revelation upon examination and reflection. Cooper's musical style is reflective of a man of a very rich inner life. The depth and breadth of his output is evidence enough of this. No matter the wars which raged inside of him, the music always won the day.

[19] Naomi Dobson, interview by author, 3 March 2012, live interview, Philadelphia, PA.

Chapter 5: Postlude Improvisation on New Analytical Paradigms

> "Those of us who stand outside the circle of this society's definition of acceptable women; those of us who have been forged in the crucibles of difference -- those of us who are poor, who are lesbians, who are Black, who are older -- know that survival is not an academic skill. It is learning how to take our differences and make them strengths. For the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house. They may allow us temporarily to beat him at his own game, but they will never enable us to bring about genuine change. And this fact is only threatening to those women who still define the master's house as their only source of support." — Audre Lorde[1]

In the works of musical composers, unique representations of identity and voice are constructed. African American composers of classical music have used art songs as the locality of and as a vehicle for the dissemination of their identity and artistic voice to great effect since the 19th century. In modern times, African American art, music and song especially, has been used as a vehicle for the validation and expression of the identity and experience of African Americans in new, and atypical, forms and fashions. These art song compositions, whether capturing vignettes of faith and family, bringing hope to a world-weary people or speaking out against the dehumanization of an entire ethnicity, have proven to be a reliable vehicle for these communications due to the varied, culturally specific, expressivity and signifyin(G) tendencies of the

[1] Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," 1984, Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches, Ed. Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 110-114, 2007, Print.

African American culture especially in the better educated socio-economic circles of the community. Because music as a communicative vehicle is referential, no matter the culture, music's signifyin(G) ability, in a sense, is the key to its capacity as an implicit communicative trigger to a listener. Art song composers, when choosing music to add to their chosen text, are exploiting this property for the purposes of adding their voice to the words to imbue them with meaning and make comment on the original work of textual art. This tradition is not specific to the African diaspora. Because compositional voice and representational identity are a conflation of a composer's collective private and public sphere experiences, the music created by a composer can be used to bear the full weight of his or her self-hood and give that self-hood voice. This resulting creative product, and the contingent components used in the crafting process, is where the diasporic specificity and uniqueness is found.

It is the audience as listeners to and recipients of this compositional voice's messages that act as interpretive agents and choose the ways in which the sounds are interpreted and disseminated. When this voice speaks as a means of asserting subversive themes and thwarting the codified confines of a genre, it is a voice of protest. I have argued here that it is possible to identify elements of protest, or double-consciousness, due to the numerous aesthetically expressive musical decisions applied within a given work. When some of these decisions are

made willfully defying, and therefore protesting, expectations of the status quo, these decisions of musical construction are implicitly and explicitly communicated to the audience. The means composers employ to convey their intended messages become the identity artifacts that reveal syntactical compliance or subversion. It is from these very revelations that the strains of protest or approbation can be heard and understood. Since the Harlem Renaissance, African American art has been a vehicle for these communications and the art song genre is no different an arena.

This study has investigated the compositional methodologies and pathologies employed by African American composer John Dangerfield Cooper to cultivate his own compositional voice and to demystify an approach to cultural fluent musical analysis for African American topics. This study has outlined both the implicit and explicit elements of cultural crumbs, identity artifacts, societal context and historical retention present within Cooper's works by exploring the issues such as race, class, and even gender and identified Cooper's identity artifacts and cultural crumbs as demonstrated in the interconnected spaces of the compositional decision process and observable analytical aesthetic.

In conclusion, we have examined the intersection of Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper's musical output with the various connotations that defined the spheres of his life from the late 1960's to the early 1980's.

The works he conceived for the public sphere, namely "Open for Us the Gates of Heaven," "This Day May Christ Be Known to You," and the excerpt of Act one from Cooper's opera *Dleifregnad,* use many more mainstream musical ideas and have less experimental elements than those conceived for his private life in which his truest voice is heard. This voice can be heard more clearly in his compositions "You Touched My Hand," "To You," and "Lord I Have Seen." These six previously mentioned pieces are also representative of the three styles employed by Cooper; the Anglican, Germanic and Fusion styles.

This study has shown Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper to be a Renaissance man who mastered many different forms and deconstructed them for his own use in combinations and permutations that fit the demands of his middle-class, African American audience from the late 1960's to the 1980's in Philadelphia's Germantown section. In so doing, Cooper firmly ensconced himself in the philosophical and ideological legacy of the Harlem Renaissance. This becomes evident when Cooper's musical output as well as his commitment and involvement with the African American community is considered.

Dr. Cooper's work as the Director of Heritage House, which was a center for African American art, culture and music in 1964 Philadelphia as well has his commitment to the African American artistic community alone is also evidence of his philosophical and ideological legacy. In

1968, four years into his tenure as director, Dr. Cooper suggested that John Allen make the home for his fledgling theater troupe at Heritage House, where it is located to this day on North Broad Street. Freedom Theatre, as it is known, is the oldest African-American theater company in Philadelphia and has been educating youth in the arts since 1972.[2] Dr. Cooper's public presence is one that was very socially conscious; he was entwined very heavily in the civic and cultural life of Philadelphia and believed that he should use all of his talents used for the betterment of others. This becomes apparent when one looks at his employment history, the fruits of those labors and his public and private lives in both the secular and sacred spheres. He made a living for himself while defining what life at the time looked like for someone like him at the intersection of the public and private spheres of sacred and secular life.

Decolonizing the Ivory Tower and Further Studies

It is my hope that this document will serve as model for ways to engage music by composers, whether African American or otherwise, with the level of respect and dignity that is rightly given to their European-descendent counterparts. There is still room for greater depth of inquiry and rigor which I and other scholars should pursue in regards to Dr. Cooper. It is infrequent that a composer who is not white is spoken of in the conservatory classroom and most certainly not with the same

[2] Freedom Theatre, https://www.freedomtheatre.org/history/ (accessed March 24, 2015).

reverence and depth of research as I have put into this document. The art songs of composers like Harry Burleigh, Scott Joplin, Margaret Bonds, Undine Smith Moore, John Cooper, Florence Price, Mark Fax, Thomas Kerr, Dorothy Rudd Moore, Ulysses S Kay, and Julia Perry among numerous others are missing from the lexicon of academia and it is time for the ivory tower to open its doors to them.

The number of composers who sit on the margins of academia with achievements and pedigrees, such as fellowships to foreign countries and apprenticeships with famous composer, is astounding. Their works are of the highest caliber, but their skin is seemingly the wrong hue for their accomplishments to be acknowledged. It is now time for this to change, and for their works to be welcomed and embraced within the academy. The lack of admittance of these great artists' works is not due to their pedigree or craftsmanship; therefore, it is no longer acceptable to exclude them from the lexicon of academia. Further study of these composers and their works is imperative for our modern society and for the proliferation of academia and academic inquiry as we know it.

There are some who would call radical my desire for the inclusion of these voices in the canonical literature of the field of classical music and voice specifically. As I have executed this journey of inquiry and analysis into the complex identity expression of African American artists, I realized that this inclusion is only radical from the positionality of white

supremacy. That is to say that it is radical only because it departs from the hegemonic, white-hetero-patriarchal supremacist, sexist, ableist, homophobic and even capitalistic notions of normalcy. As I continued my research, I found that accuracy required approaches and analytical lenses that decolonized my scholarship. This inquisitive thrust toward decolonization felt correct because my intent was not, and is not, to simply challenge power in all its academic manifestations for challenges sake but to enlarge canonical knowledge in my field by providing additional paradigmatic lenses for the analysis of musically expressive manifestations. This allowed me to find and provide scholarship which exists, not for the purpose or at the exclusion of others' existence but, with the purpose of including and validating all human expressions.

These paradigmatic lenses are necessary because, as Audre Lorde[3] said, "the master's tools will never dismantle the master's house" and so the old lenses will never properly contextualize, analyze, and validate the music of groups for which they were never designed. If we are to correct the ills of old and reconcile the academy to modern reality, we must do so by removing that which is systematically disenfranchising. There is certainly still use for the ways and means of academic inquiry which presently exist and have been relied upon to build the bulk of the knowledge we have. But, as the fields broaden to be more rightfully

[3] Audre Lorde, "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House," 1984, Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches, Ed. Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press, 110- 114, 2007, Print.

inclusive, the lenses used in them must also broaden. Not doing so will only produces vacuous truths the veracity of which is suspect at best and violent and reductive at its worst.

I have attempted this with this work. No matter the point of origin for the expression, this analytical paradigm I have presented can be used to provide an approach for understanding. By taking into account for whom, by whom, for what place, and where the music was created, we humanize the music to reveal much more of the totality of what is present. In this way, we learn about the sonic experiences that imprinted themselves upon and influenced the musical and corporal beings of those we call our sisters, others and brothers in our shared humanity because this paradigmatic lens is adjustable to not be specific to only one race, color or creed. This is a necessary approach for the best, most respectful and accurate analysis.

If academia is going to reverse the decline in attendance that continues to occur in this digital age where college attendance and graduation has become less appealing to the masses and necessary for some in the workforce, true scholarship, often labeled radical or activist scholarship, and these kinds of humanizing approaches to the works of people groups whose ancestors have sat on the margins is absolutely necessary. This responsible scholarship is the clarion voice which is the supposed clarion purpose of the academy. Responsible scholarship and

educational practices require the pursuit of enhancement and expansion in the score and depth of every discipline. A blatant refusal to challenge a disciplines canonical literature with newly discovered findings, or to do the tedious and necessary work to recast the canon in the new light, is, at best, covert and misguided or, at worst, undisguised and unabashed erasure.

This behavior is malignantly unscholarly. Scholars are charged with the responsibility to challenge, combat, and correct the errors and omission in the literature of our fields of study. Continued devotion to the outmoded or willfully incorrect is the abdication of scholastic responsibility and, I believe, stands even as the antithesis of scholastic ethics. It is this upholding of systematic oppression which scholars are tasked to fight with their words instead of perpetuating prejudice with their actions. Silence to these false narratives shows the erased and oppressed that the validation of their history, identity and even their very existences is of less concern than the requisite effort exerted to act as a corrective academic force instead of a harbinger of hateful injustice. This corrective bent is why the power and privilege of knowledge lies in its indisputable accuracy and not just its proximity to the powerful. Addressing this is a path to responsible scholarship, reclaiming the relevance of the academy, and decolonizing the ivory tower.

In our modern age, however, this charge to scholars is besmirched or ignored and the path unbeaten. Despite being told that black music was not an "academically pertinent" field of study and that studying it would not "substantively add to the field" of classical music, I persisted, despite the travails, in my study of the music of African American composers in order to become aware and subsequently share these contributions with my field. This labor has made a monumental impact on my ability to pursue and complete all of my post-secondary degrees. Many other African American scholars like Dr. Willis Patterson, Dr. Louise Toppin, and Dr. Darryl Taylor, Dr. Carren Moham, and Dr. Marquese Carter have also ignored these sentiments regarding the validity of African American music and they along with institutions like the Center for Black Music Research, the Du Bois Orchestra at Harvard, and the Indiana University African American Arts Institute, are doing the work of excavating and preserving these works and expanding the field. These scholars and institutions have made it possible for anthologies and recordings of art music by African American composers to exist and continue to be researched and produced. Biographies are also being written, like that of Florence Price by renowned, recently passed, scholar Dr. Rae Linda Brown. This work is absolutely necessary because, without the context, any resulting in in-depth analysis is certain to be incomplete at best and violent to the composers at its worst.

Though these institutions are wonderful, they are not sufficient to support the volume of work still required to bring the music of African American composers from the obscurity of the field and it is my contention that sustaining funding and an expansion in this area is necessary. Black scholars are still needed to do the work of decolonizing classical music as Dr. Doris Evans McGinty points out in her article Black Scholars on Black Music: The Past, the Present, and the Future. The training of the scholars takes resources.[4] Staunching the hemorrhaging of students from American colleges and university which I have seen and experienced as both a student and professor means that we must make certain that students see themselves in the fields academia considers worthy of research and upon which it is spending its resources.

This means that resources not only for researching work viewed as traditional, comfortable, and customary that falls into the grip of white supremacist and hegemonic, hetero-patriarchal, sexist, and ableist categories but also for researching the work of not only African Americans but for female, queer, Latino(x), Native American, Asian American and the numerous other groups who sit at the margins need to be the locus of focus for vigorous and rigorous academic inquiry. This is the mandate, and burden, of responsible scholarship. Leveraging the

[4] McGinty, Doris Evans. "Black Scholars on Black Music: The Past, the Present, and the Future." *Black Music Research Journal* 13, no. 1 (1993): 1-13. doi:10.2307/779403.

archival and preservationist powers are the academy is to be no longer relegated to the few in this country but to all groups of those who have made a contribution to the fabric of this country and the broader world.

Despite my best efforts, the scope of this study did require that I leave certain areas for future work. Find a listing of implications for future study to follow. I had to put to the side a union catalog of essential black anthropological and musicological characteristics. I also was unable to perform a more in-depth analysis of all of Dr. Cooper's vocal music. His instrumental music was also left untouched by this study. I had to narrow the scope to his art songs and analyze his use of instrumental musical forms within those contexts because more of his works are not available due to the limited distribution of his copyrighted materials. I also did not have a discussion of colorism generally in American society and especially as it pertains to playing a possible role in the life of a person in African American society vis-à-vis being a stumbling block due to its proximal nature to whiteness, thereby posing a unique advantage and adversary for a black activist.

The topic of male privilege despite white racism was also not discussed and would be a fascinating lens through which to view Dr. Cooper's work. Traditionalism vs. idealism as exemplified in the life of Cooper versus the sound-world of his art is also a topic for further exploration. Truthfully, these topics bare an academic necessity for

discussion and analysis in the lives of African American composers and those in our broader society. I would like to also produce a recording of his works and mount his opera cycle as well and produce a collection of his instrumental pieces so that others can perform them. There is a recording of some of his choral works on an LP that I would like to transfer to CD as well and be able to distribute them so that his works can be more accessible to the public.

Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper kept himself out of the spotlight for most of his life but his musical output deserves a place of recognition which began to seek for himself in his later life. His output was substantial, assuming that his contemporaries and collegial recollections are accurate, and his music is treasured by those who consumed it. It seems that Dr. Cooper's works serve as a kind of time capsule for those who lived them. For me, since I am looking from a different perspective. They show me history preserved in an entirely different context. What I find to be endlessly fascinating and necessary to preserve is his use of chromaticism, his use of enigmatic stylistic elements, and his consummate craftsmanship.

As I hope scholars begin to investigate these techniques in composers of African American art music, I want Cooper to stand as an example of the musical life that was alive and well in Philadelphia providing voice and vision into that window of post-Renaissance

blackness. In this way, I hope to find him at least a place of recognition because his life and music warrants it. Since he spent his time on earth uplifting others, I hope that this act will ensure that he too will be lifted and find his place of honor even if posthumously. I also hope that, in this way, I too can serve and begin to be the change I want to see in the world, academic and otherwise, around me. When we know better, we must do better and now that I know, I have acted. I hope that this study helps others to act as well and be voices for their communities.

Appendix A: Figures and Examples

Figure.A.1. Map of Philadelphia labeled by section[1]

[1] Fredric Miller, Morris J Vogel, and Allen Freeman Davis, *Philadelphia Stories: A Photographic History, 1920-1960,* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988, 4.

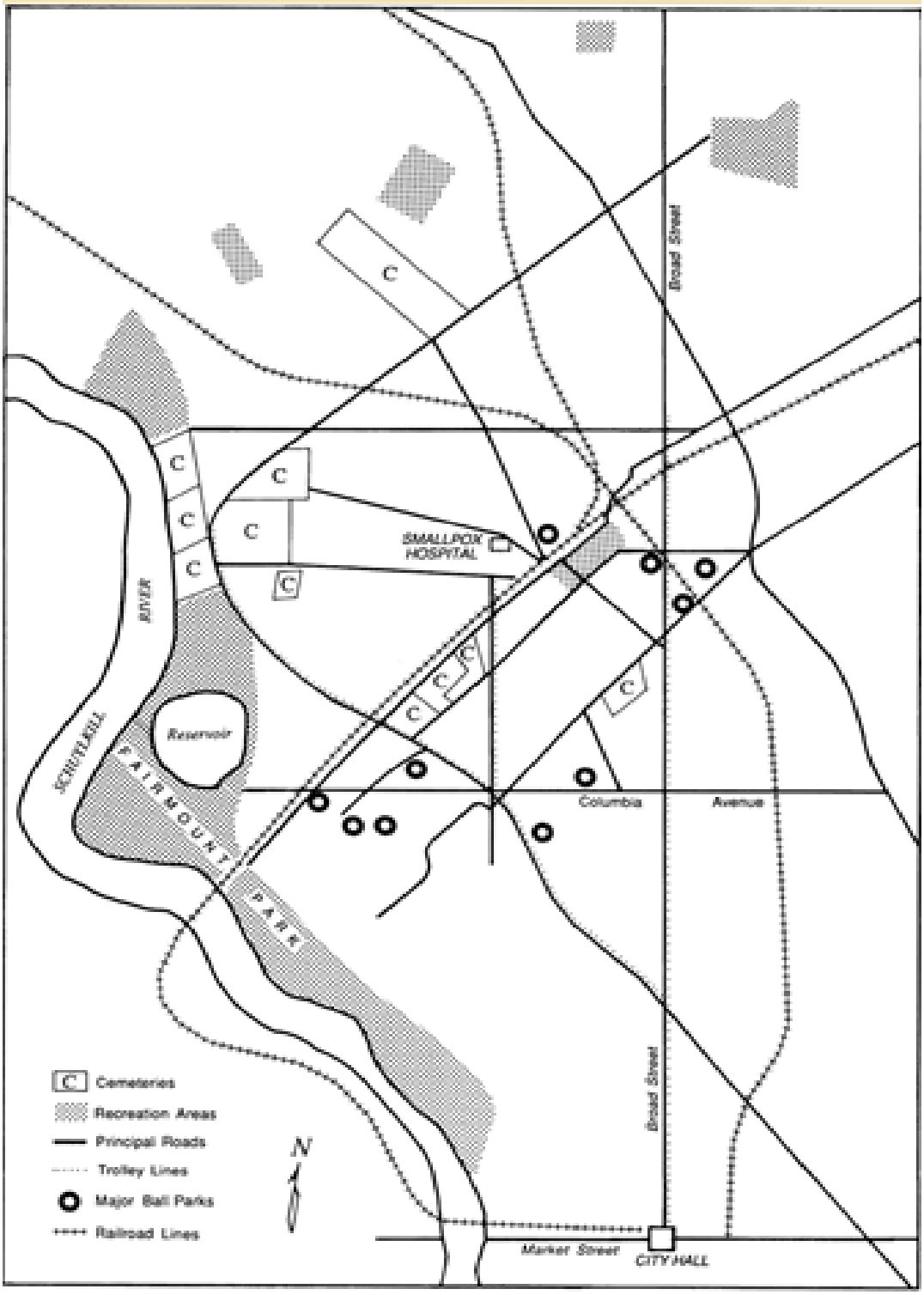
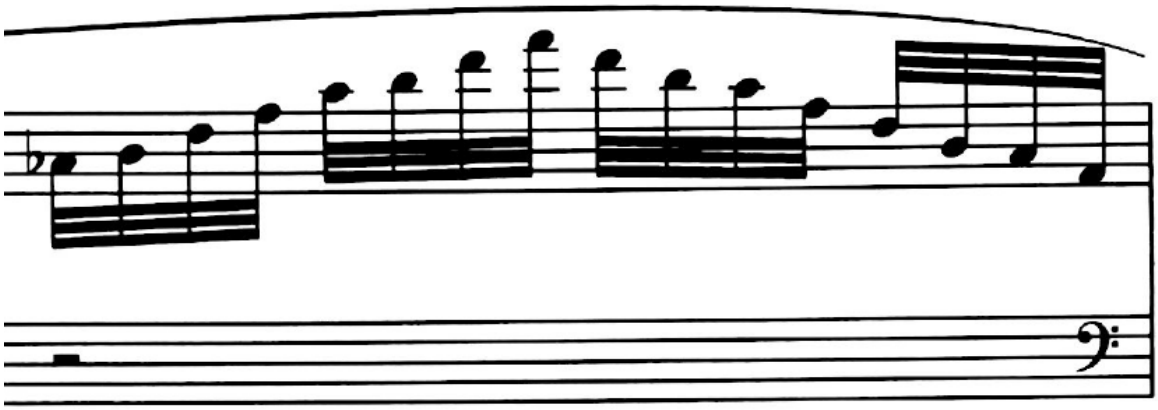


Figure.A.3. Map of City North of City Hall 1860-1910[2]

[2] Bruce Kuklick, *To Every Thing a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909-1976.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.



Example.A.1. Arpeggio from *You Touched My Hand*

***Open for Us the Gates of Heaven* Analysis** - Glossary

Arcis-rise group; ascending gesture from tonic to recitation pitch.
Recitation- pitch most repeated during phrase; usually dominant.
Thesis- fall group or closing gesture from recitation pitch to tonic.

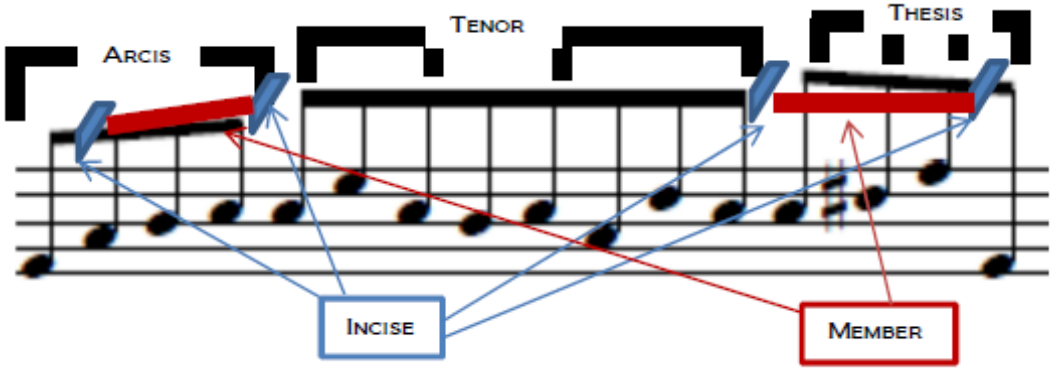
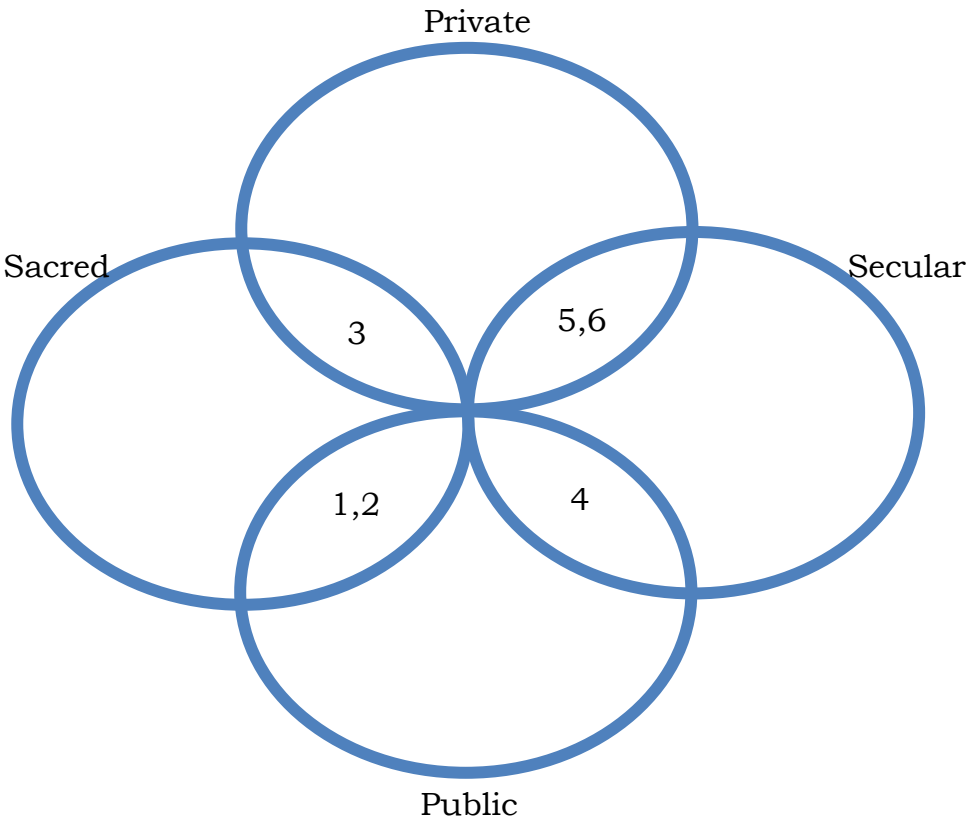


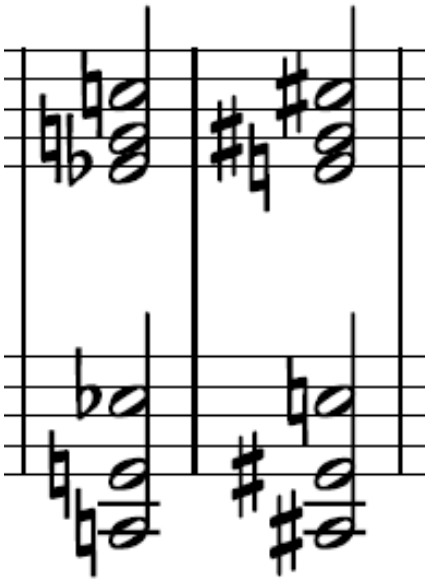
Figure.A.3. Diagram of *Open for Us* Phrase Construction



Key

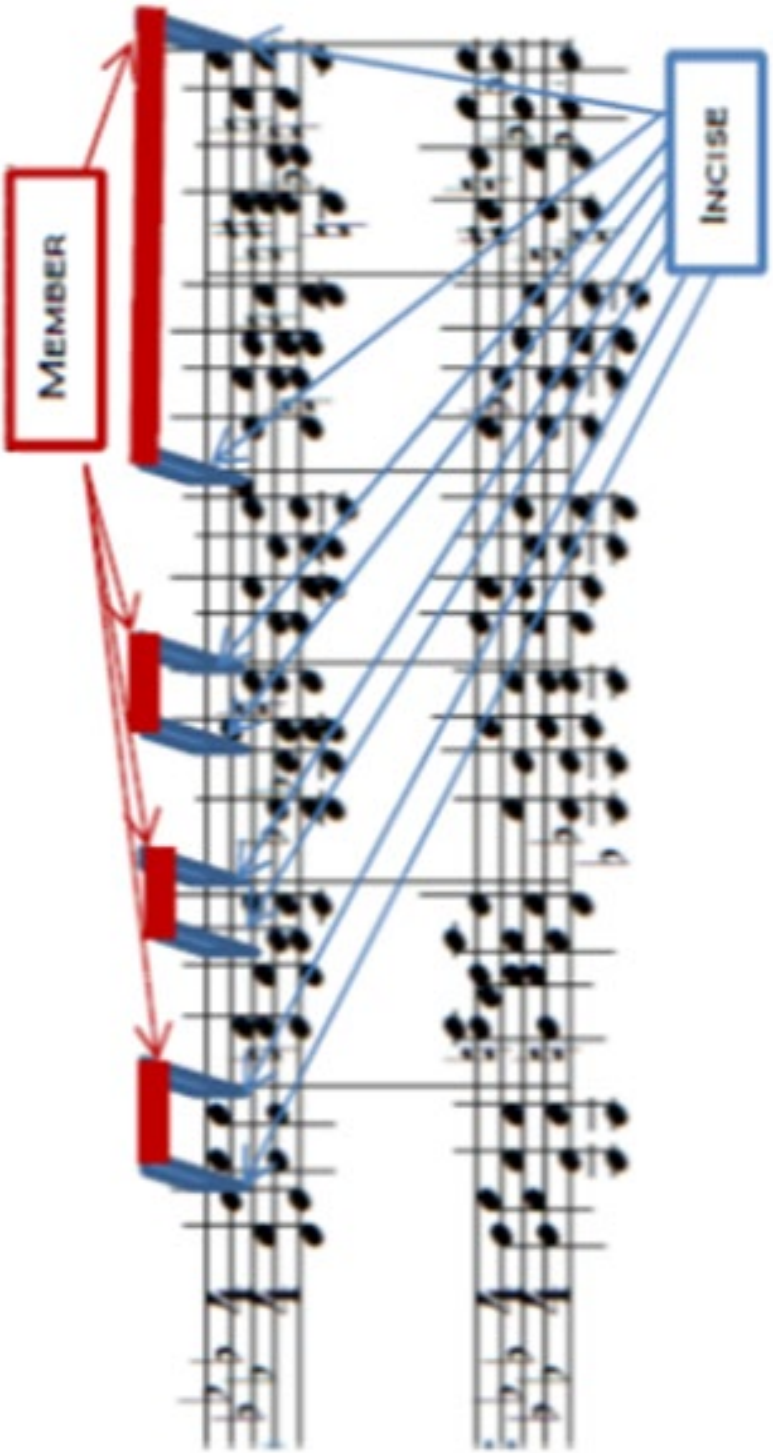
1. Open for Us the Gates of Heaven
2. This Day May Christ Be Known to You
3. Lord I Have Seen Thy Salvation
4. Dleifregnad
5. You Touched My Hand
6. To You

Figure.A.4. Venn Diagram of Dr. Cooper's Compositional Styles and his Life Spheres

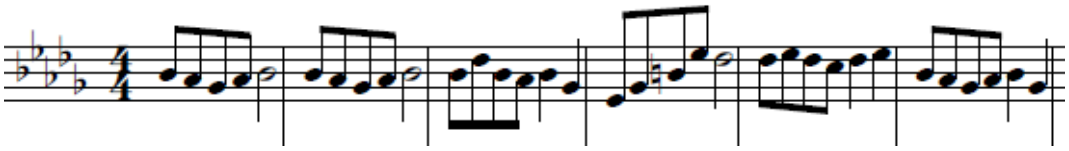


A vs. A’

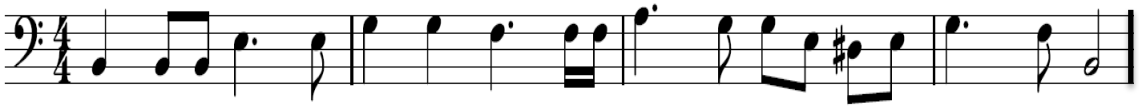
Example.A.2. Chord Comparison A vs A’ in *This Day May Christ Be Known to You*



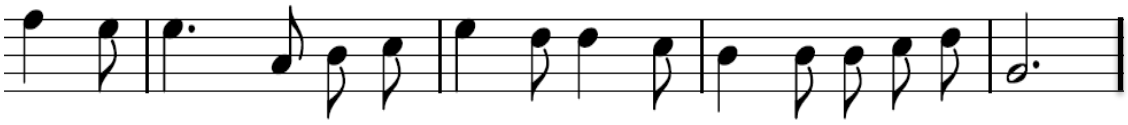
Example.A.3. B section Chord Progression *This Day May Chrst Be Known to You*



Example.A.4. The Merridellian Leitmotif

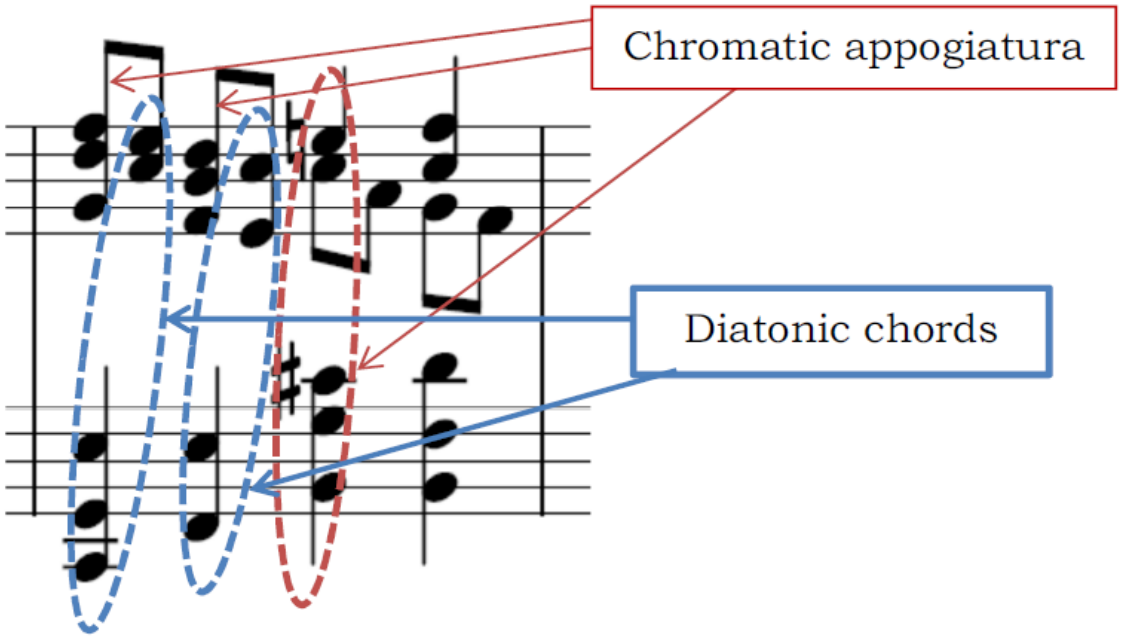


Example.A.5. Evaarg's leitmotif before the key and time signature change



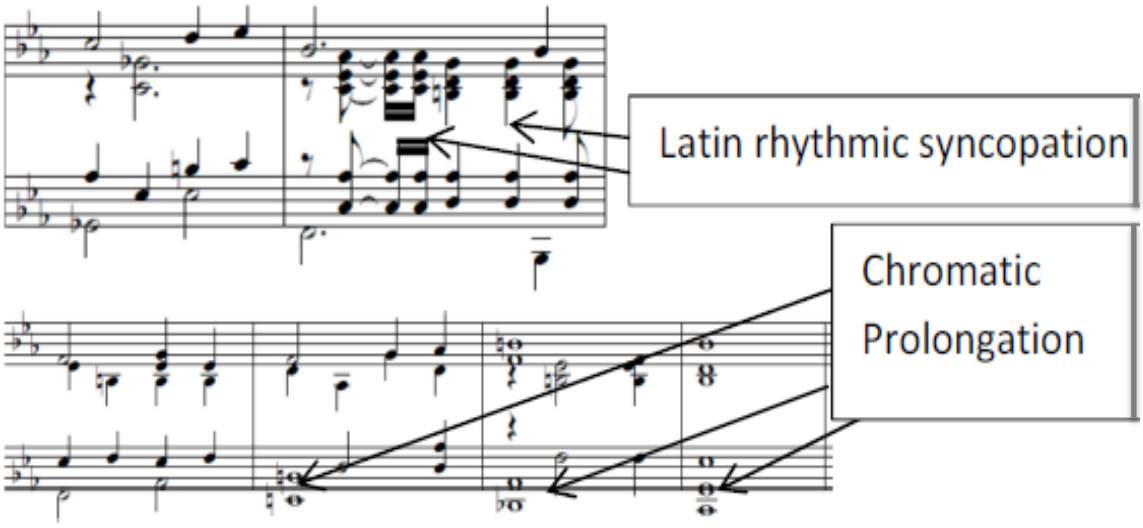
Example.A.6. Maelestrata's leitmotif excerpt

You Touched My Hand Examples



Example.A.7. Chromaticism in *You Touched My Hand*

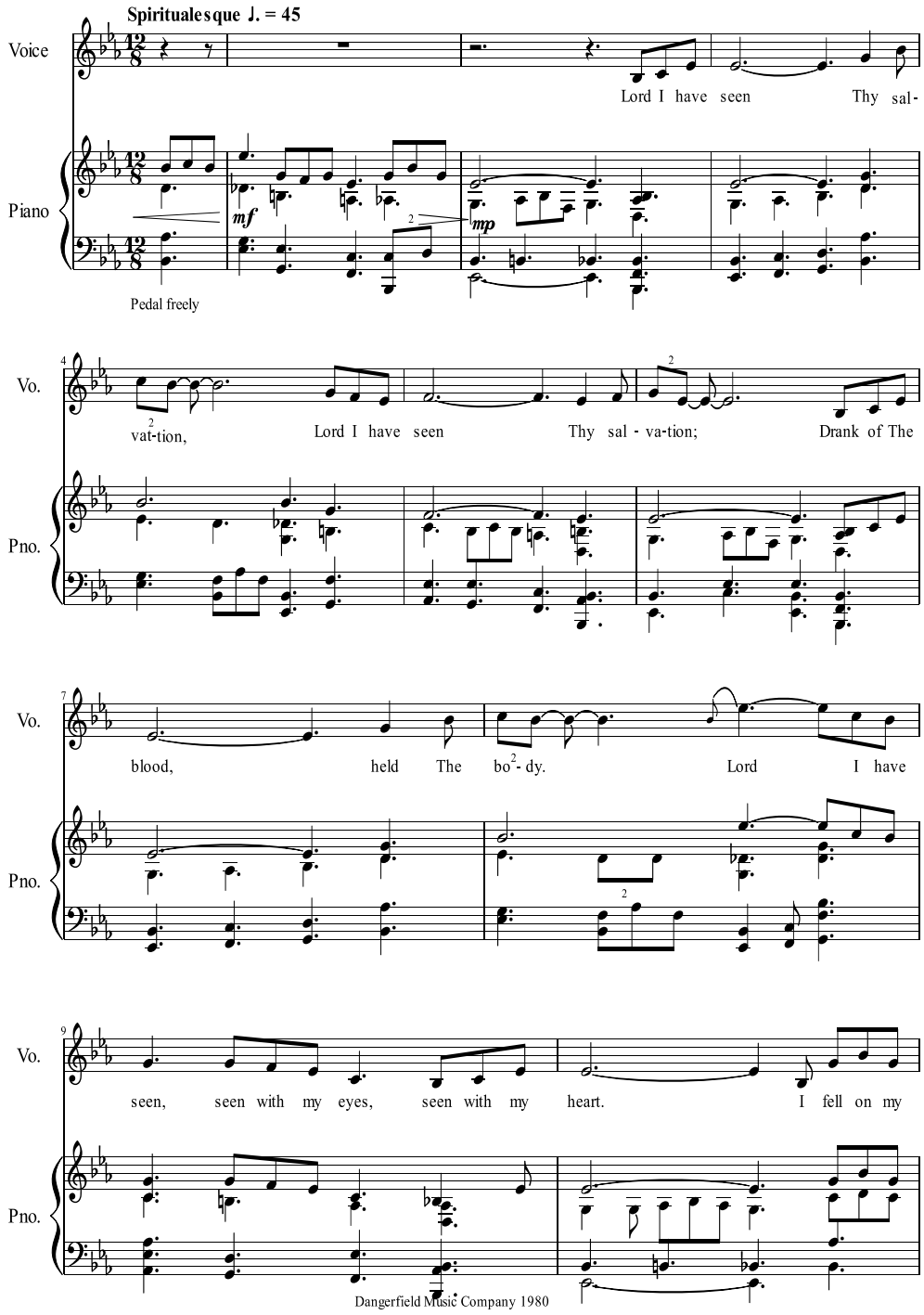
To You Examples

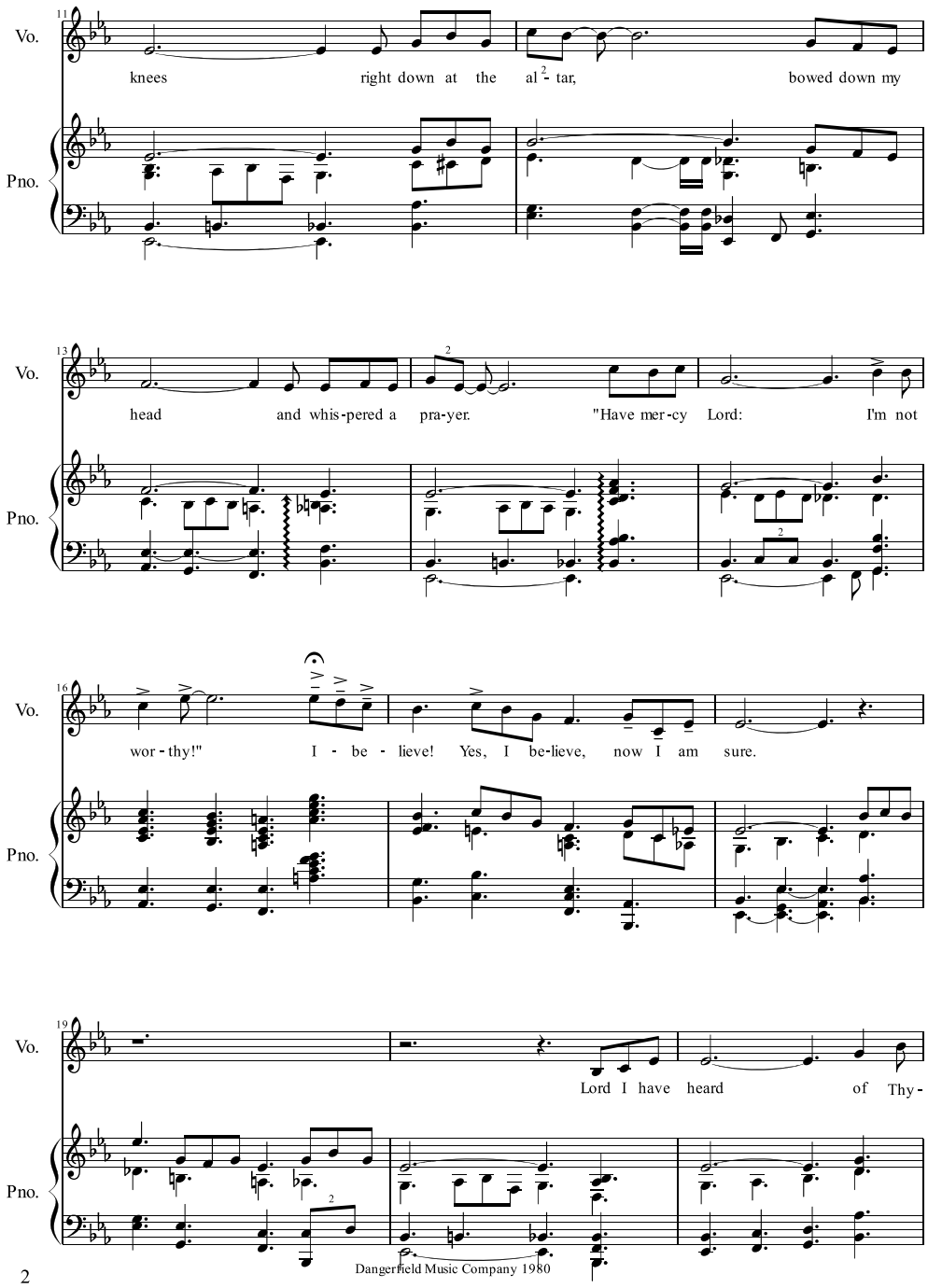


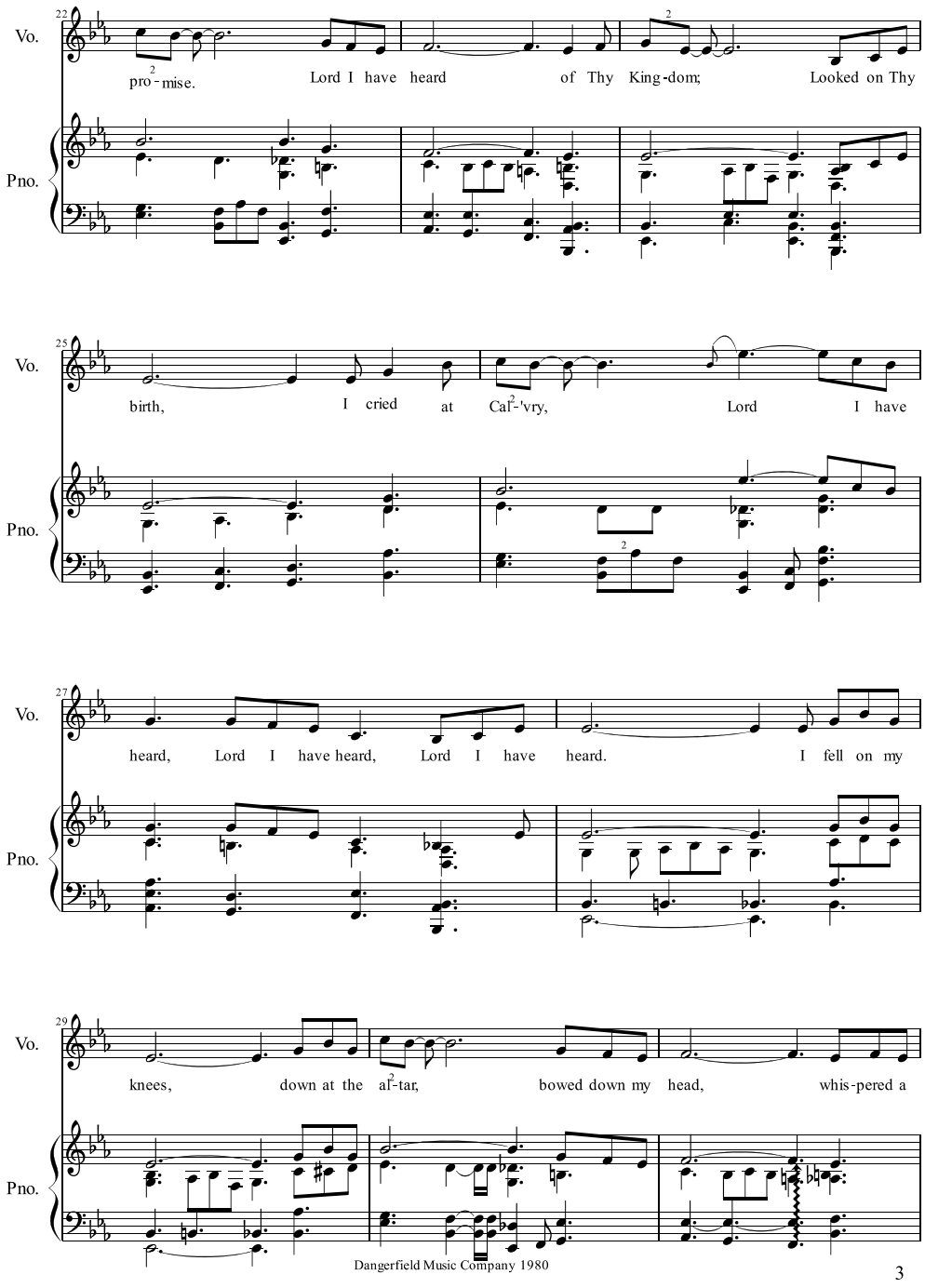
Example.A.8. Rhythms and Chromaticism in *To You*

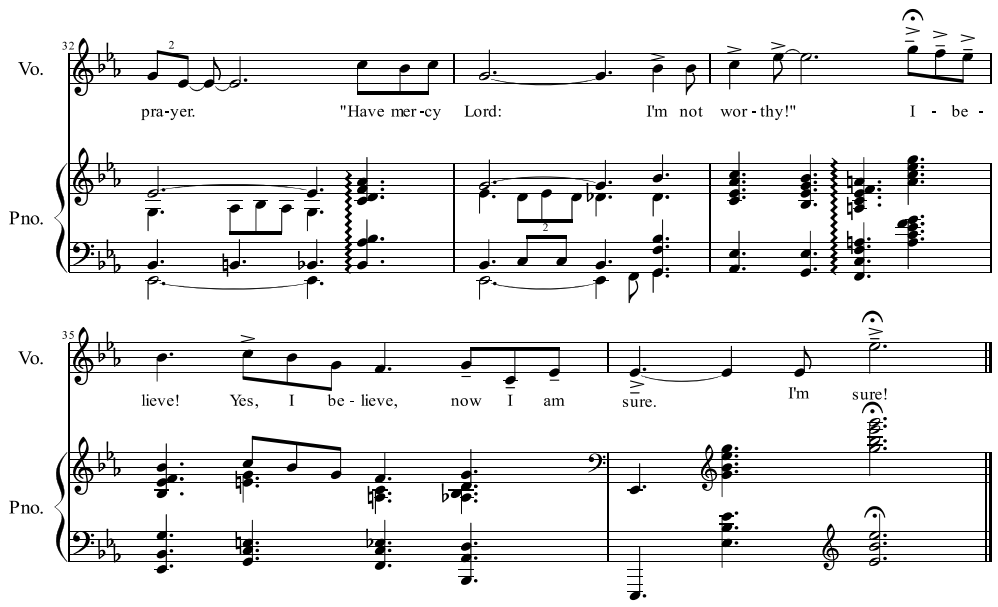
Lord I Have Seen

Music: Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper
Poetry: Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper

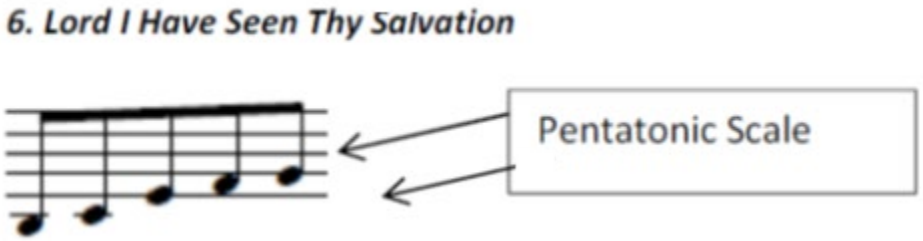




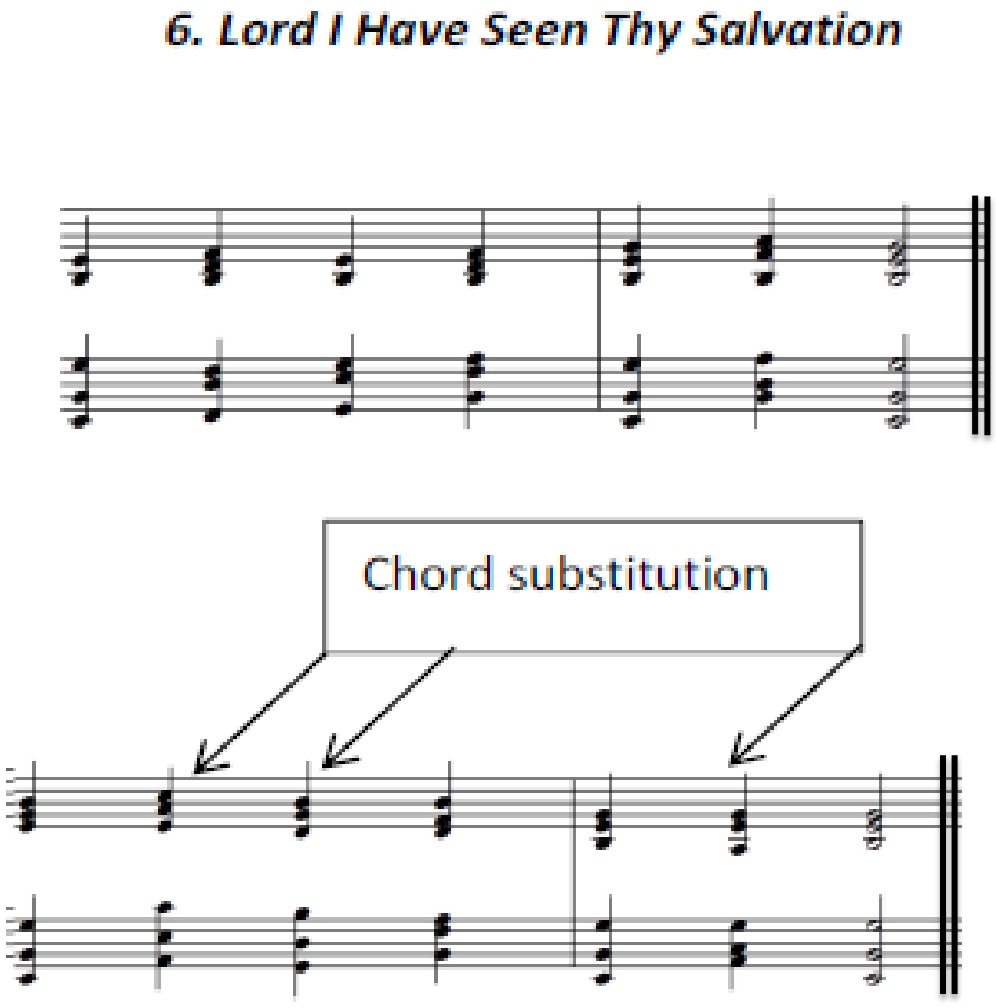




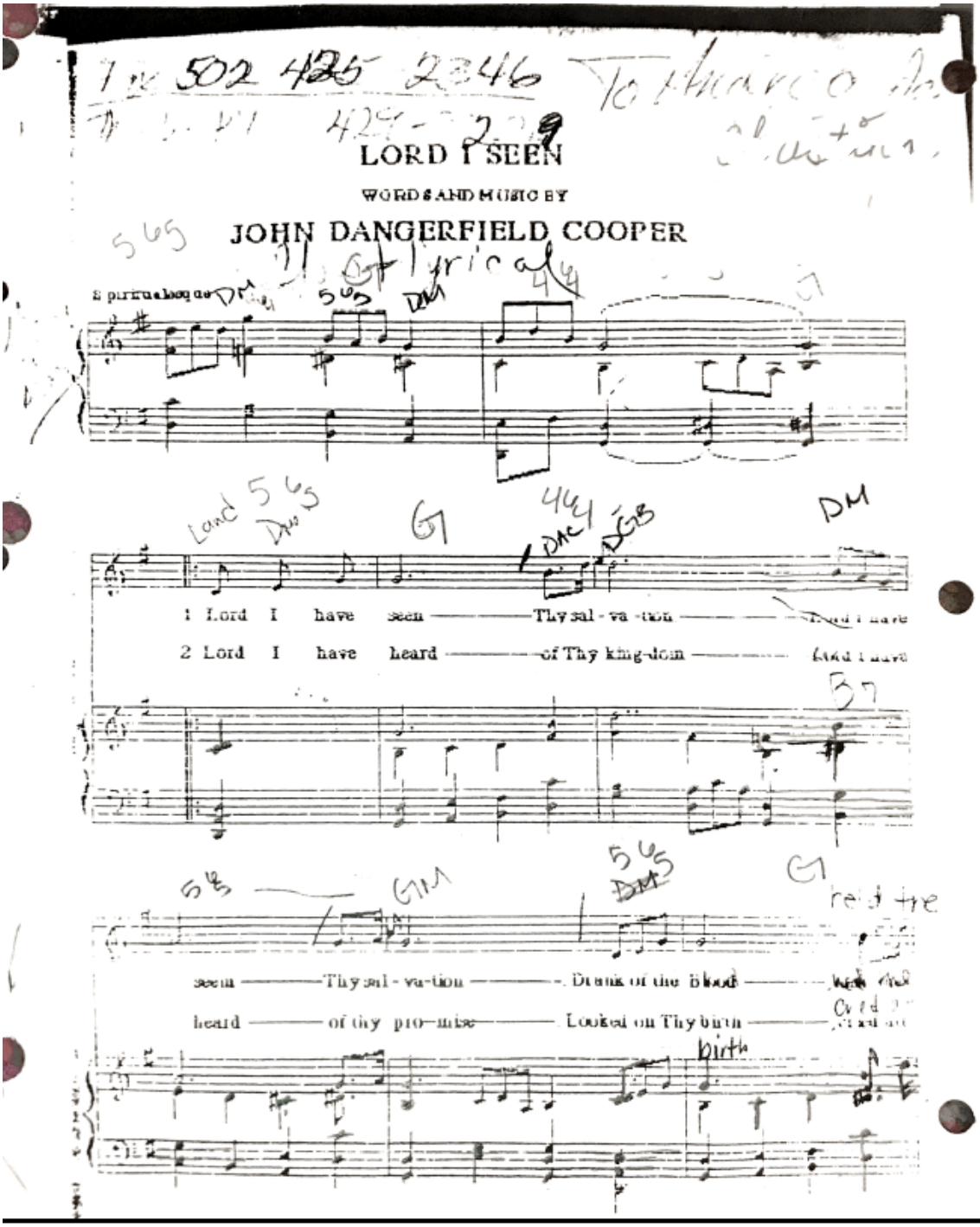
Example.A.9. *Lord I Have Seen* Transcription, transposed to Eb

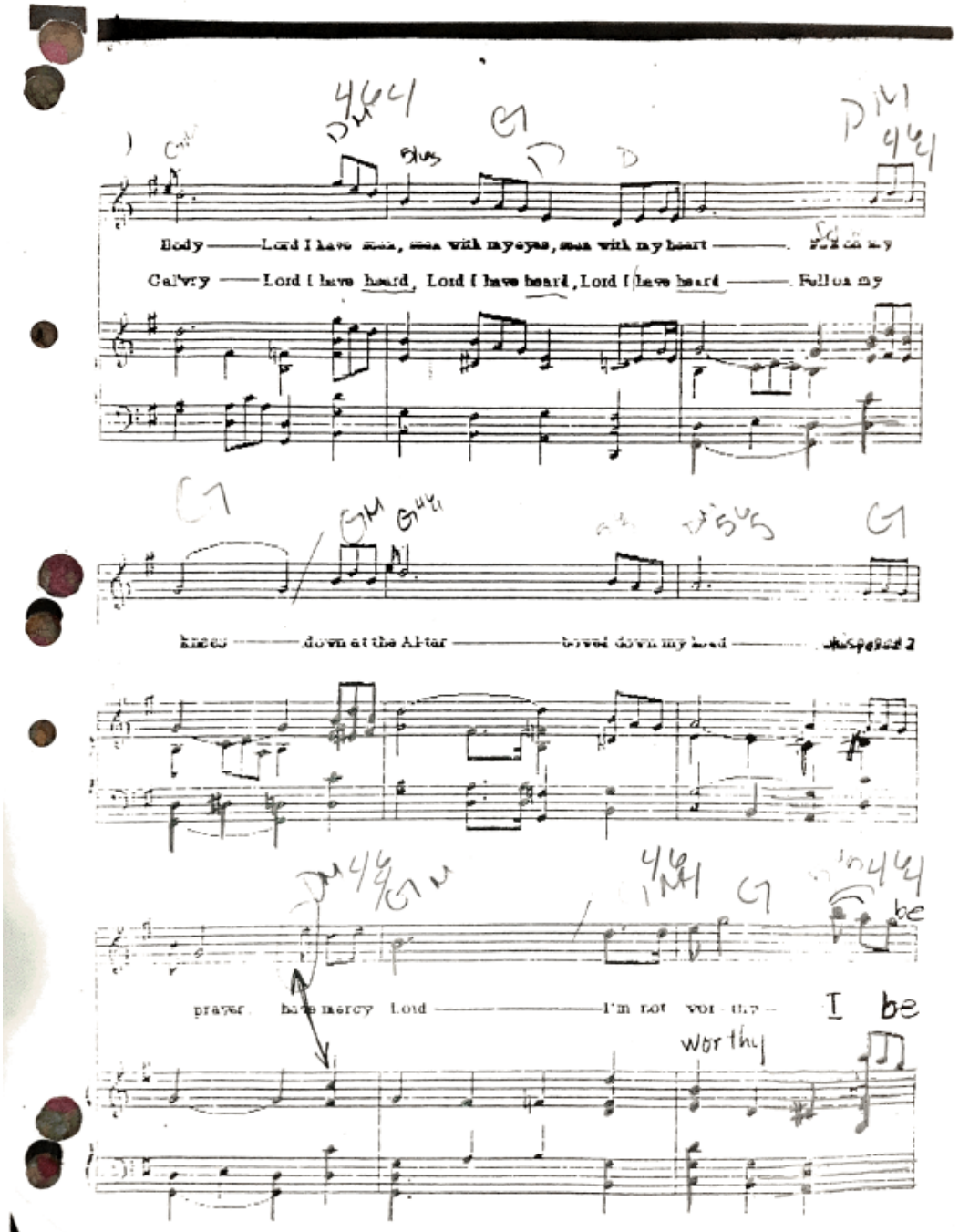


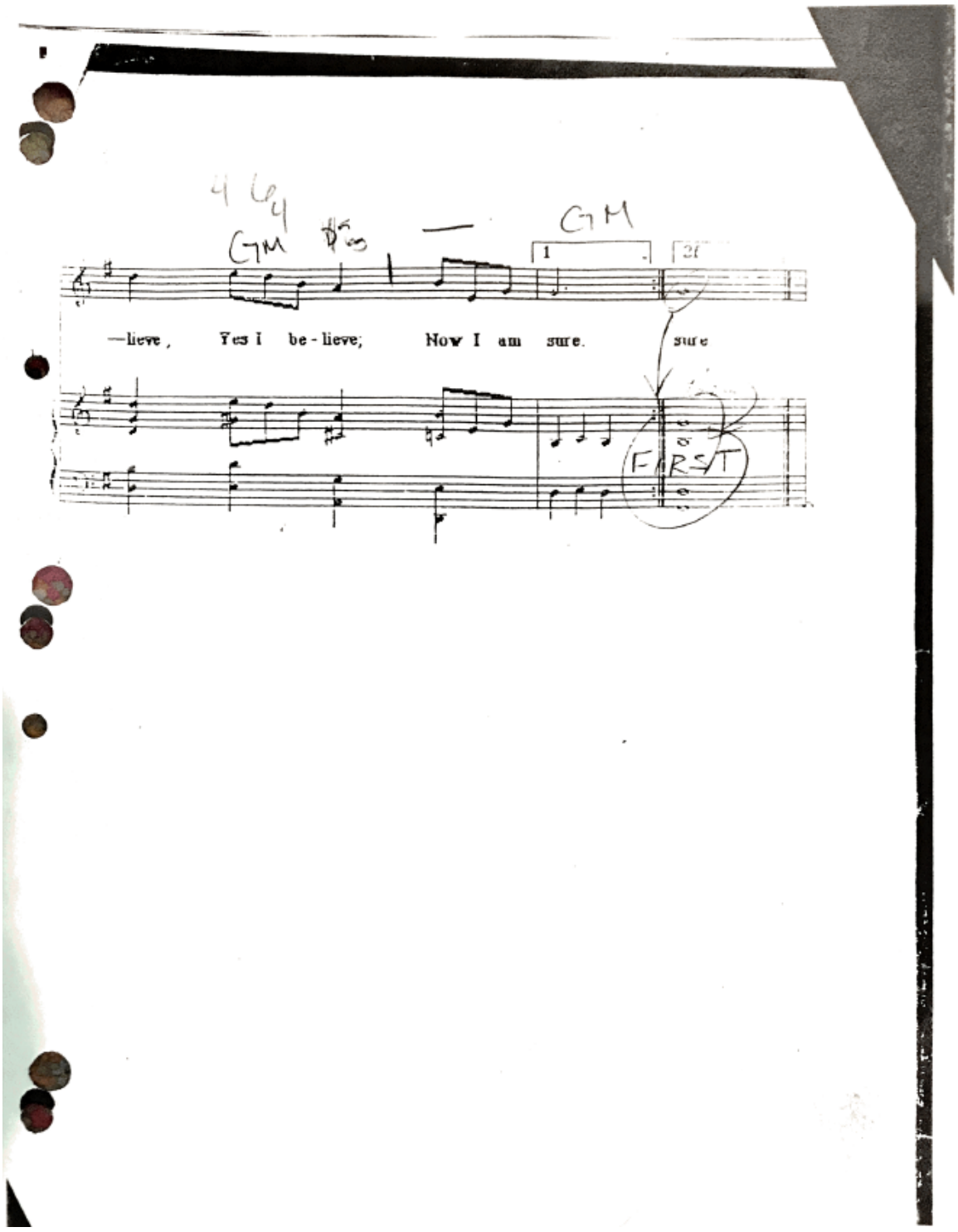
Example.A.10. Pentatonic Scale Melody in *Lord I Have Seen*



Example.A.11. Chord Progression options in *Lord I Have Seen*


LORD I SEEN
WORDS AND MUSIC BY
JOHN DANGERFIELD COOPER
1 Lord I have seen Thy sal-va-tion
2 Lord I have heard of Thy king-dom
seem Thy sal-va-tion Drank of the blood
heard of thy pro-mise Looked on Thy birth


Body —— Lord I have seen, seen with my eyes, seen with my heart ——. Follow my
Calvary —— Lord I have heard, Lord I have heard, Lord I have heard ——. Follow my
knees —— down at the Altar —— bowed down my head ——
prayer —— have mercy Lord —— I'm not wor thy
I be
worthy



Example.A.12. Jones Sojola score of *Lord I Have Seen*

Appendix B: Collected Research Documents

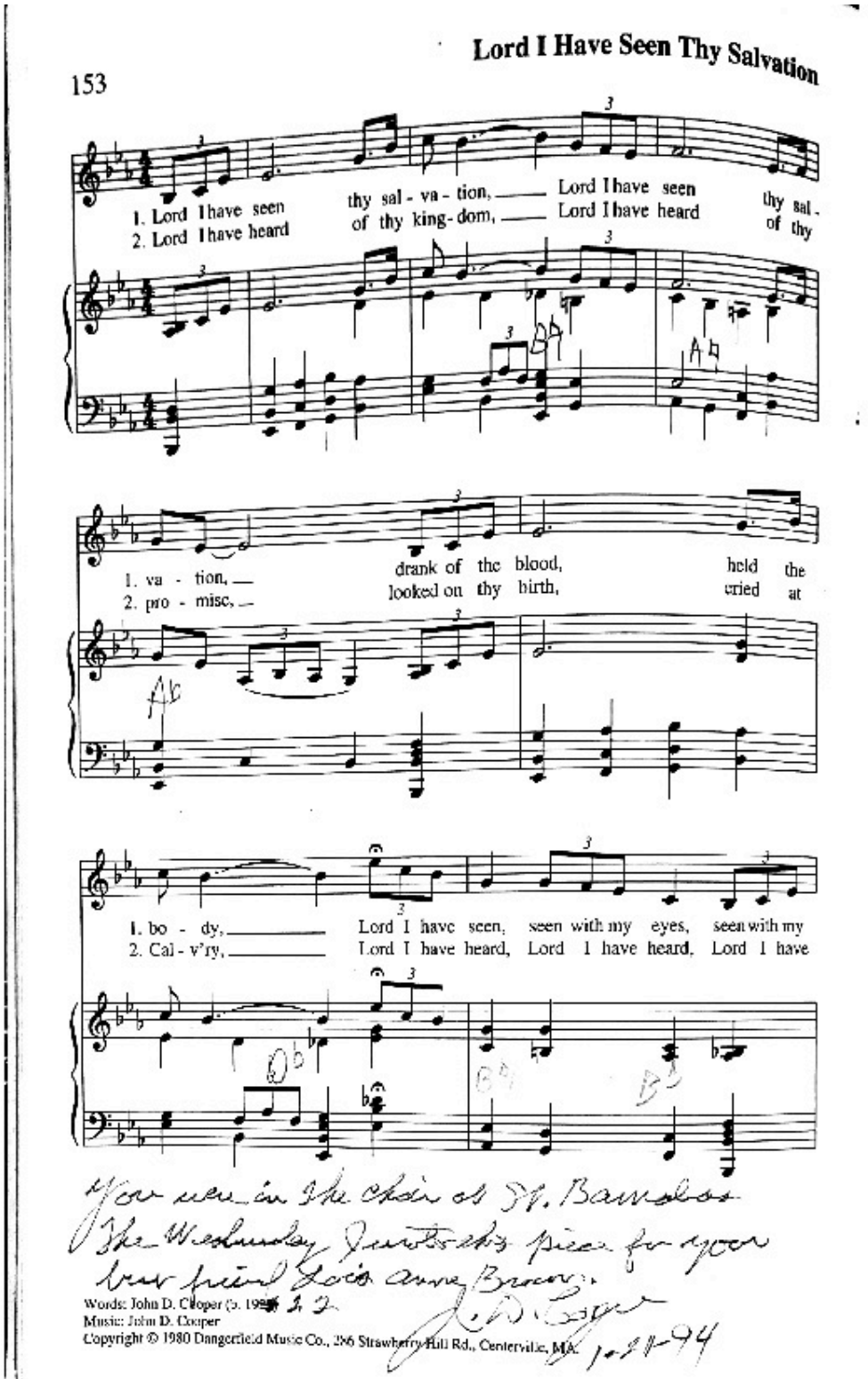
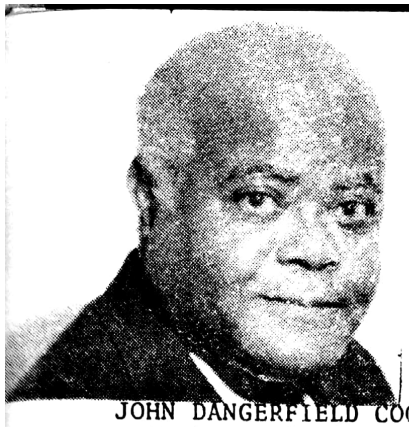


Figure.B.1. Signed copy of *Lord I Have Seen* from Lift Every Voice and Sing hymnal



DR. JOHN DANGERFIELD COOPER

JOHN DANGERFIELD COOPER, was born in Philadelphia, and received his early education in the public schools. His parents, Dr. William and Mrs. Willa Cooper had made musci a vita. part of their three sons early training, thus it seemed natural that John, the youngest,would follow in the footsteps of his older brothers, William and Joseph.

Russell Johnson and Joseph Lockett shaped their early piano studies, with Dr. Leo Ornstein rounding out the junior and young adult study years. Organ began with Kenneth Goodman, Dr. Maitland and Henry Booker. Formal enrollment at the Combs College of Music gave the added courses for enrichment.

As a student at Lincoln University, Pennsylvania,wonderful opportunities evolved and gave depth development in philosophy, english, theology and music. Following graduation he became a teaching fellow at Lincoln University, and pursued graduate studies at the Theological Seminary. Further graduate studies at the Lutheran Seminary in Philadelphia led to his Ordination to the Sacred Ministry. Five years later, he led his young congregation into a racially integrated move with a large dying White Church in Tioga which still persists today.

Returning to education, Dr. Cooper began an interesting varied, yet related series of activities such as Teacher of English for the Philadelphia School System and Temple University High School; Executive Director of LaMott Community Center, Council for Job Opportunities, a constituent agency of the Philadelphia Fellowship Commission, Heritage House,Christine Community Center, Wilmington, Delaware; Associate Professor of Music at Lincoln University; Professor of Music at Wilmington College.

He has served as Organist and/or Choirmaster for Canaan Baptist Church, Zion Baptist Church, Mt. Carmel BaptistChurch St. Barnabas Episcopal Church, St. Matthews, A.M.E. Church,St Augustine's Church of Philadelphia and Canden, N.J., Hanover Presbyterian Church, Wilmington, Delaware and St. Barnabas-St. Luke's Church of Germantown.

Dr. Cooper is a member of National Association of Negro Musicians, National Association of Music Teachers, National Philosophical Association, Alpha Phi Alpha, Opera North,Board Member, Pro Arts Society. Some published works are Social Welfare Forum : An Inner City Cultural Program. Published for the National Conference on Social Welfare; ColumbiaUniversity Press, New York and London, 1972; 1976 - Lord I Have Seen, and Arrangements of Twelve Spirituals; 1983 Ballade for Violin and Piano, Ballade for two pianos and The Judi Songs;1986 The Unicorn and Elfin Song, Magnificat and Nunc Dimitis, and in 1987, Wissahickon Dawn.

Dr. Cooper is married to Marilyn L. Newby Cooper, they are honored with seven children (four boys and three girls), and five grandchildren.

Figure.B.2. Cooper biography from honoree banquet at Pinn Memorial Baptist Church

ST. CECELIA'S CHOIR
ST. LUKES CHURCH, GERMANTOWN

Dr. John D. Cooper
Choirmaster

Rev. Charles Poindexter
Rector

St. Cecelia's Choir was named after St. Cecelia, the Saint of Music. During the time at St. Barnabas Church, and shortly after the merger with St. Luke's Germantown, the choir was composed of women and girls.

For the past 10 years, the choir has enlarged its membership to include soprano, alto, tenor and bass singers. The high quality of liturgical excellence has been maintained under the leadership of Dr. John D Cooper. His creative ability in music composition is witnessed in the Liturgical forms for the entire church service in anthems, chorales for all voices.

St. Cecelia's Choir is the chief Liturgical Choir at St. Luke's Sunday morning Eucharist, and the choir is ready to render the music for special services during the year, and is a strong community choir.

The choir has made records and tapes, among which is "Lord I Have Seen," written by Dr. Cooper.

Dr. Cooper can bring the voices of the choir together to "make a joyful noise unto the Lord."

SOPRANOS

Lucille C. Buikoff	Gloria Burnette	Dorothy Calhoun
Marialice Dancy	Greta Herron	Cheryl Irving
Hazel Jefferson	Ola Lofton	Vivian Norton
Margaret Palmer	Meridel Peterson	Carol Simmons
Judith Poindexter	Yvonne Thompson	Nancy Williams
Rosemary Valentine		Doris Washington

ALTOS

Marjorie Demeritte	Christine Hite	Dr. Robyn R. Jones
Barbara Knowles	Stephanie McMillan	Evelyn Robinson
Gwendolyn Rinaldo	Janet Scott	Mildred Satchell
Dolores Shepherd		Frances Wilkins

TENORS

William Calhoun	Jay Fluellen	Eugene T. Golson
Dr. Jesse Lofton	Jay Polis	Dr. Richard Sims
Randall Simmons	Richard Smith	Jack Surman
Dr. Harold Trawick		

BASSES

Seibert Cadogan	Jimmy Carter	Jerry Fluellen
Wesley Norton	Herbert Ruzann	Dr. Arthur Stokes
The Rev. William J. Shepherd		

Figure.B.3. St. Cecilia's Choir ad from honoree banquet at Pinn Memorial Baptist Church

CONGRATULATIONS TO

DR. JOHN D. COOPER

DANGERFIELD MUSIC COMPANY

ORIGINAL WORKS BY WILLIAM B. COOPER

Music based on the traditional spiritual, ancient tunes of Africa. Early American, and Airs from the Philadelphia community.

ORGAN:	Bread of Heaven (Eastern Shore Maryland Tune)
	Spiritual/Lullaby
	Lulliloo (Ashanti Air)
	Steal Away
	I'm So Glad Trouble Don't Last Alway
	Toccata on: "John Saw The Holy Number"
	The Good Shepherd (A Child's Flute tune from South Philadelphia)
ORGAN AND VIOLIN CELLO	Concerto (Based on "Deep River")
ORGAN:	Ceremonial For A Bishop (Early American Tune)
	Pastorale #2 (Southern Melody)
	Rhapsody - On The Name, FELA SOWANDE (Nigerian organist-composer)
ORGAN AND PIANO	Fantasy
ORGAN:	Transfiguration (Urban Voices)
ORGAN AND VOICE:	Elegy (with Contralto and three equal Soprano voices)
CHORAL:	The Beatitudes (Cantata)
PSALMS AND CANTICLES	(Based on Traditional Spirituals)
THE PORT ROYAL TE DEUM	(Oratorio)
WOODWIND	Two Araquelles
SOLO VIOLIN	Kiskadee (Bermuda Bird-Call)
FESTIVAL ANTHEM:	- Psalm 150 (for organ, piano, percussion bells and chorus)

11

Figure.B.4. Dangerfield Music Company advertisement from the honoree banquet at Pinn Memorial Baptist Church

Programme

Welcome . . . . . Mrs. Mary Dunn Bates
Mrs. Ollie Carden
Invocation & Blessing .... Rev. Charles Poindexter
Rector - St. Luke's Church, Germantown

ENJOY FOOD AND FELLOWSHIP

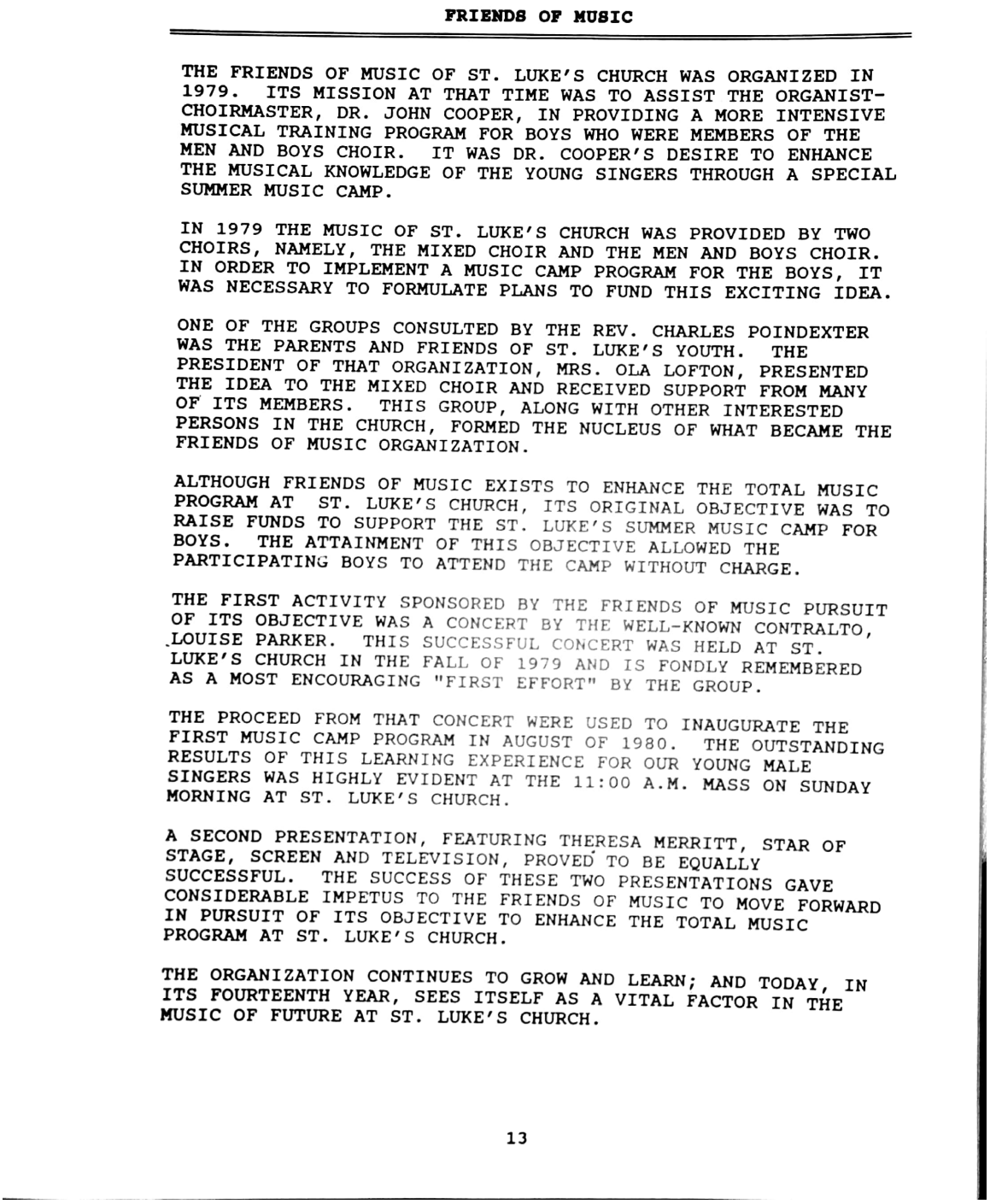
Magnificat and Nunc Dimitis
Richard Smith, Tenor - Greta Herron, Soprano
Arthur Stokes, Basso
Samuel R. Cosby . . . . Accompanist

Arise, Shine! (Acapella) The St. Cecelia Choir
John Dangerfield Cooper . . Conductor
Elfin Song
Wissahickon Dawn
Toni Caldwell-Hall, Pianist

You Touched My Hand
Come Love This Cold Night
Lord, I Have Seen
Judith Owens Poindexter . . . Soprano
John Dangerfield Cooper... Accompanist
Two Spritiual Variations for Violin and Piano
Peace In The Valley - - Plenty Good Room
Joseph E. Cooper. . . Violinist
John D. Cooper. . . Accompanist
Sonata Fantasie
Toni Caldwell-Hall, Pianist
Te Deum Laudamus
Hazel Jefferson, Soprano - Greta Herron, Soprano
Richard Smith, Tenor
I Dream A World . . . . The St. Cecelia Choir
Samuel R. Cosby. . . Accompanist
John Dangerfield Cooper ... Conductor
Music written by Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper
and words to vocal selections (See Insert)

Presentations to Dr. John D. Cooper -- The Honoree
Memorial Guild . . Dr. Samuel Cosby, Jr
Ivy Leaf School . . Mrs. Novella West
St. Luke's Choir Mrs. Evelyn Robinson
Friends of Music and St. Cecelia Choir
Evelyn Robinson, Margaret Palmer,
Harold Trawick
Introductions . . . . Mrs. Mary Dunn Bates
God Be With You . . . . . Tomer
Accompanied by: Mabel Morrison
Conducted by: Samuel R. Cosby, Jr

Figure.B.5. Programme from honoree banquet at Pinn Memorial Baptist Church



FRIENDS OF MUSIC

THE FRIENDS OF MUSIC OF ST. LUKE'S CHURCH WAS ORGANIZED IN 1979. ITS MISSION AT THAT TIME WAS TO ASSIST THE ORGANIST-CHOIRMASTER, DR. JOHN COOPER, IN PROVIDING A MORE INTENSIVE MUSICAL TRAINING PROGRAM FOR BOYS WHO WERE MEMBERS OF THE MEN AND BOYS CHOIR. IT WAS DR. COOPER'S DESIRE TO ENHANCE THE MUSICAL KNOWLEDGE OF THE YOUNG SINGERS THROUGH A SPECIAL SUMMER MUSIC CAMP.

IN 1979 THE MUSIC OF ST. LUKE'S CHURCH WAS PROVIDED BY TWO CHOIRS, NAMELY, THE MIXED CHOIR AND THE MEN AND BOYS CHOIR. IN ORDER TO IMPLEMENT A MUSIC CAMP PROGRAM FOR THE BOYS, IT WAS NECESSARY TO FORMULATE PLANS TO FUND THIS EXCITING IDEA.

ONE OF THE GROUPS CONSULTED BY THE REV. CHARLES POINDEXTER WAS THE PARENTS AND FRIENDS OF ST. LUKE'S YOUTH. THE PRESIDENT OF THAT ORGANIZATION, MRS. OLA LOFTON, PRESENTED THE IDEA TO THE MIXED CHOIR AND RECEIVED SUPPORT FROM MANY OF ITS MEMBERS. THIS GROUP, ALONG WITH OTHER INTERESTED PERSONS IN THE CHURCH, FORMED THE NUCLEUS OF WHAT BECAME THE FRIENDS OF MUSIC ORGANIZATION.

ALTHOUGH FRIENDS OF MUSIC EXISTS TO ENHANCE THE TOTAL MUSIC PROGRAM AT ST. LUKE'S CHURCH, ITS ORIGINAL OBJECTIVE WAS TO RAISE FUNDS TO SUPPORT THE ST. LUKE'S SUMMER MUSIC CAMP FOR BOYS. THE ATTAINMENT OF THIS OBJECTIVE ALLOWED THE PARTICIPATING BOYS TO ATTEND THE CAMP WITHOUT CHARGE.

THE FIRST ACTIVITY SPONSORED BY THE FRIENDS OF MUSIC PURSUIT OF ITS OBJECTIVE WAS A CONCERT BY THE WELL-KNOWN CONTRALTO, LOUISE PARKER. THIS SUCCESSFUL CONCERT WAS HELD AT ST. LUKE'S CHURCH IN THE FALL OF 1979 AND IS FONDLY REMEMBERED AS A MOST ENCOURAGING "FIRST EFFORT" BY THE GROUP.

THE PROCEED FROM THAT CONCERT WERE USED TO INAUGURATE THE FIRST MUSIC CAMP PROGRAM IN AUGUST OF 1980. THE OUTSTANDING RESULTS OF THIS LEARNING EXPERIENCE FOR OUR YOUNG MALE SINGERS WAS HIGHLY EVIDENT AT THE 11:00 A.M. MASS ON SUNDAY MORNING AT ST. LUKE'S CHURCH.

A SECOND PRESENTATION, FEATURING THERESA MERRITT, STAR OF STAGE, SCREEN AND TELEVISION, PROVED TO BE EQUALLY SUCCESSFUL. THE SUCCESS OF THESE TWO PRESENTATIONS GAVE CONSIDERABLE IMPETUS TO THE FRIENDS OF MUSIC TO MOVE FORWARD IN PURSUIT OF ITS OBJECTIVE TO ENHANCE THE TOTAL MUSIC PROGRAM AT ST. LUKE'S CHURCH.

THE ORGANIZATION CONTINUES TO GROW AND LEARN; AND TODAY, IN ITS FOURTEENTH YEAR, SEES ITSELF AS A VITAL FACTOR IN THE MUSIC OF FUTURE AT ST. LUKE'S CHURCH.

13

Figure.B.6. Friends of Music of St. Luke's Church ad from honoree banquet at Pinn Memorial Baptist Church

The Philadelphia Tribune

Tuesday, March 15, 1988

Cooper honored

Memorial Guild/Opera North, Inc. will present and honor Dr. John D. Cooper, musicologist, composer, organists, pianist, at a Luncheon Musicale on March 19, at 1 P.M. in Mitchell Auditorium, Pinn Memorial Baptist Church, 54th Street and Wynnefield Avenue.

PIONEERING WOMEN ARTISTS

Afro-American Historica tural Museum's exhibitior **ing Women Artist**, the sketches and paintings of African American artists. sell Jones and Ida Jor through May 16.

NORTH AMERICAN BUSH BAND

The **"North American Bu** and poet **"Aschak"** will be live at the Plain and Fanc 15th and Federal streets, urday beginning at 9:30 P

MARLENE LEWIS & OPEN STAGE

The Blushing Zebra cc host Steve Schonwald pre last **Open Stage, featurin Lewis**, a local songwriter/ Wednesday, March 16. Th located at 7167 Germantow program begins at 7 P.M.

Figure.B.7. Newspaper clipping from March 15, 1988 printing of the Philadelphia Tribune announcing the honoree Luncheon banquet at Pinn Memorial Baptist Church held at 1 p.m. on March 19, 1988

Appendix C: Other Collected Documents

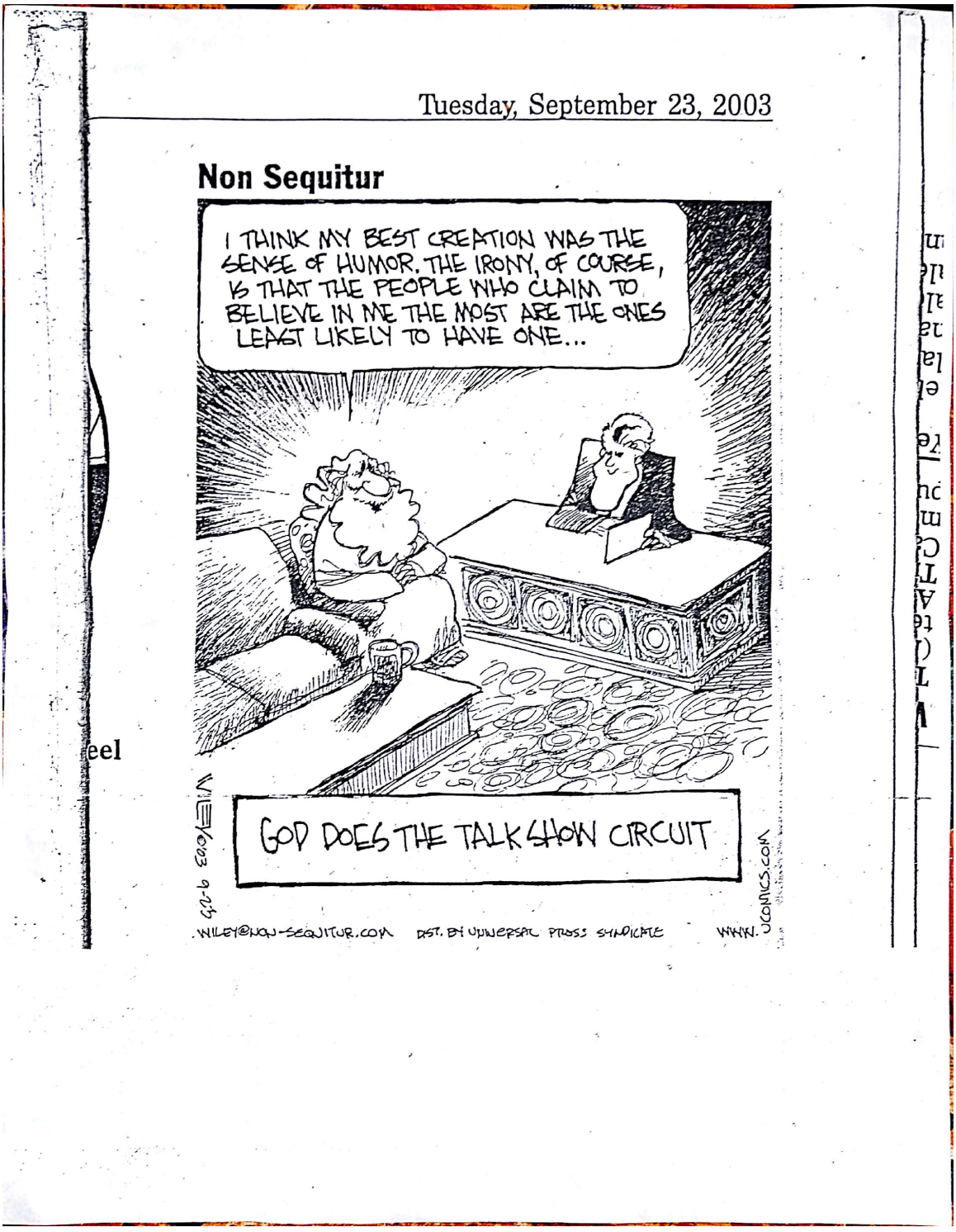


Figure.C.1. A comic shared from Dr. Cooper to a choir member

Figure.C.2. Portrait photo of Dr. John Dangerfield Cooper

Figure.C.3. The Cooper boys, William, Joseph, and John, together at a family meal

Bibliography

Abbate, Carolyn. 1991. *Unsung voices : opera and musical narrative in the nineteenth century*, *Princeton studies in opera*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Aberbach, Alan David. *The Ideas of Richard Wagner: An Examination and Analysis of His Major Aesthetic, Political, Economic, Social, and Religious Thoughts*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1984.

Abbott, Lynn. "Play that Barber Shop Chord: A Case for the African-American Origin of Barbershop Harmony." *American Music* 10, no. 3 (Fall 1992): 289-325.

Ades, Hawley. *Choral Arranging*. 2d ed., expanded. Delaware Gap, Pa.: Shawnee Press, 1983.

Adler, Samuel. *The Study of Orchestration*. New York: Norton, 1982.

Aldwell, Edward and Carl Schachter. *Harmony and Voice Leading*. 2 vols. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978-79.

Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity Inc.. https://apa1906.net/. accessed March 24, 2015.

Anderson, Telia U. 2001. 'Calling on the Spirit:' The Performativity of Black Women's Faith in the Baptist Church Spiritual Traditions and Its Radical Possibility for Resistance. In *African-American performance and theater history : a critical reader*, edited by H. J. Elam and D. Krasner. Oxford [England]; New York: Oxford University Press.

Baldwin, James, Emile Capouya, Lorraine Hansberry, Nat Hentoff, Langston Hughes and Alfred Kazin. "The Negro in American Culture." *CrossCurrents* 11. no. 3 (1961): 205-224. http://www.jstor.org/stable/24456864.

Benward, Bruce, and Marilyn Nadine Saker. *Music: In Theory and Practice, Vol. I*, seventh edition. Boston: McGraw-Hill, 2003.

Boy Scouts of America. 1998. *Boy Scout handbook*. Irving, TX: Boys Scouts of America.

Boyer, Horace Clarence. *How Sweet the Sound: The Golden Age of Gospel*. Washington, D.C.: Elliott & Clark Publishing, 1995.

_____. 'Tracking the Tradition: New Orleans Sacred Music." *Black Music Research Journal* 8. no. 1 (1988): 135-47.

Broome, Christine. Interview by author. 3 March 2012. Live interview. Philadelphia, PA.

Budds, Michael J. *Jazz in the Sixties*. Iowa City: University of Iowa Press, 1978.

_____. 'Gospel Music Research." *Black Music Research Journal* (1980): 63- 70.

Buelow, George J. "Music, Rhetoric, and the Concept of the Affections: A Selective Bibliography." *Notes* 30, no. 2 (1973): 250-59. doi:10.2307/895972.

Burton-Lyles, Blanche. Interview by author. 05, January 2013. Phone interview about 1950s and 60s w/ M. Anderson playing and singing W. Cooper Beatitudes. Philadelphia, PA.

Campbell, Patricia Shehan. 'Mellonee Bumim on African American Music." *Music Educators Journal* (July 1995): 41-48.

Cogan, Robert and Pozzi Escot. *Sonic Design: The Nature of Sound and Music*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976.

Cooper-Smith, Carolyn. Interview by author. 20 January, 2013. Phone interview. Alexandria, VA.

Courlander, Harold. Liner notes to *Negro Folk Music of Alabama*. Smithsonian Folkways Records 04418, 1992.

Cronbach, Lee. "Structural Polytonality in Contemporary Afro-American Music." *Black Music Research Journal* (1981-82): 15-33.

Cooper, John Dangerfield. *The Historic Liturgy of the Eucharist*. Lincoln University Press, Lincoln University PA, 1950.

Cooper, John Dangerfield.1972. "Social Welfare Forum: An Inner City Cultural Program." *National Conference on Social Welfare*. New York and London: Columbia University Press.

Cooper, Michael. "A Rediscovered African-American Female Composer Gets a Publisher." *Nytimes.com*. November 15, 2018. https://www.nytimes.com/2018/11/15/arts/music/florence-price-music-publisher-schirmer.html?smprod=nytcore-ipad&smid=nytcore-ipad-share.

Cusic, Don. *The Sound of Light*. Bowling Green State University Popular Press, 1990.

Davison, Archibald T. *The Technique of Choral Composition*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1945.

Dett, R. Nathaniel, ed. *The Dett Collection of Negro Spirituals*. 4 vols. Minneapolis: Schmitt, Hall & McCreary, 1936.

Dobson, Naomi C. Interview by author, 3 March 2012. Live interview. Philadelphia, PA.

Downer, Sally. "John D. Cooper, 83, musician, minister." *Philadelphia Inquirer*, 01 02, 2006, http://articles.philly.com/2006-01-02/news/25410977_1_sacred-music-music-director-and-organist-inquirer (accessed March 24, 2015).

DuBois, W.E.B. *The Souls of Black Folk*, ed. Candace Ward and Stanley Applebaum. 1994 reprint (Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, 1903): v.

Dunbar, Paul Laurence. ""We Wear the Mask."" from *The Complete Poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar*. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1922, c1913.

Floyd, Samuel A. Jr. *The Power of Black Music*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Forte, Allen and Steven E. Gilbert. *Introduction to Schenkerian Analysis*. New York: Norton, 1982.

Forte, Allen. *The American Popular Ballad of the Golden Era*. 1924—1950. Princeton University Press, 1995.

Fanon, Frantz, *Black Skin, White Masks.* 1st Evergreen Black Cat ed. New York, N.Y.: Grove Press, 1968.

Freedom Theatre, https://www.freedomtheatre.org/history/ (accessed March 24, 2015).

Friedwald, Will. *Jazz Singing*. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990.

Grey, Thomas S. *The Cambridge Companion to Wagner*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Gridley, Mark C. *Jazz Styles: History and Analysis*. 3d ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1988.

Gridley, Mark, Robert Maxham and Robert Hoff. "Three Approaches to Defining Jazz." *Musical Quarterly* 73. no. 4 (1989): 520-21.

Grout, Donald Jay and Claude V. Palisca. *A History of Western Music*. 3d ed. New York: Norton, 1980.

Harris, Michael W. *The Rise of Gospel Blues: The Music of Thomas Andrew Dorsey in the Urban Church*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1992.

Haywood, Mark S. "Melodic Notation in Jazz Transcription." *Annual Review of Jazz Studies* 6 **(**1993): 271-75.

Hazzard-Donald, Katrina. *Mojo Workin': The Old African American Hoodoo System*. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2013.

Heble, Ajay. *Landing on the Wrong Note: Jazz, Dissonance, and Critical Practice*. New York: Routledge, 2000.

Heilbut, Anthony. Liner notes to *All of My Appointed Time*. STASH ST - 114, 1978.

_____. *The Gospel Sound: Good News and Bad Times*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971.

Hildebrand, Jennifer. "Two Souls, Two Thoughts, Two Inreconciled Strivings': The Sound of Double Consciousness in Roland Haye's Early Career." *Black Music Research Journal* 30. no. 2 (2010): 273-302.

Hiley, David and Alex Lingas. "plainchant." *The Oxford Companion to Music*. *Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press, accessed January 31, 2016, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/opr/t114/e5213.

Hitchcock, H. Wiley and Stanley Sadie eds. *New Grove Dictionary of American Music*. New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1986. S.v. "Gospel Music" by Harry Eskew, James C. Downey and Horace Clarence Boyer. Hoyt, Reed J. 'In Defense of Music Analysis." The Musical Quarterly LXXI, no. 1 (1985): 38-51.

Hurston, Zora Neale. *The Sanctified Church.* Berkeley, CA: Turtle Island, 1983.

Hughes, Langston, *Let America Be America Again and Other Poems.* 1st Vintage Books ed. New York: Vintage Books, 2004.

Johns, Donald. "Funnel Tonality in American Popular Music. 1900-70." *American Music* 11, no. 4 (Winter 1993): 458-72.

Johnson, James Weldon, ed. *The Books of American Negro Spirituals*. New York: Viking Press, 1940.

Jones, L. *Blues People: The Negro Experience in White America and the Music That Developed From It*. New York, N. Y.: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1963.

Kemfeld, Barry, ed. *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*. London: Macmillan; New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1988. S.v. "Arrangement" by Gunther Schuller.

_____ . *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*. London: Macmillan; New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1988. S.v. 'Boogie-Woogie" by Paul Oliver.

_____ . *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*. London: Macmillan; New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1988. S.v. "Jazz" by James Lincoln Collier.

_____ . *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*. London: Macmillan; New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1988. S.v. "Riff" by J. Bradford Robinson.

_____ . *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*. London: Macmillan; New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1988. S.v. "Singing" by Leonard Feather and Barry Kemfeld.

_____ . *New Grove Dictionary of Jazz*. London: Macmillan; New York: Grove's Dictionaries of Music, 1988. S.v. "Vamp" by Deane L. Root.

Kuklick, Bruce. *To Every Thing a Season: Shibe Park and Urban Philadelphia, 1909-1976.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.

Larson, Steven Leroy. "Schenkerian Analysis of Modem Jazz." Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1987.

Lee, Douglas A. 'The Quiet Revolutionary in Black American Music: An Essay-Review." *Black Music Research* Journal 12, no. 2 (Fall 1992): 215-27.

Licht, Walter. *Getting Work: Philadelphia, 1840-1950*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1992.

Lincoln, C. Eric and Lawrence H. Mamiya. *The Black Church in the African American Experience*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1990.

Lincoln University, *The 1947 Lion* (Lincoln University, PA: 1947), 60, Lincoln University Digital Archives, http://www.lincoln.edu/library/Yrbook-pdfs/Yearbook_1947.pdf, accessed on 12 October, 2018.

Locke, Alain, and Charles Molesworth. *The Works of Alain Locke.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012, pg 442-451.

Lomell, Kip. *Happy in the Service of the Lord*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988.

Lorde, Audre. "The Master's Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master's House." 1984. Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches. Ed. Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press. 110- 114. 2007. Print.

McGinty, Doris Evans. "Black Scholars on Black Music: The Past, the Present, and the Future." *Black Music Research Journal* 13, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 1-13.

Mitchell, Henry H. *Black Preaching*. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990.

Miller, Fredric., Morris J Vogel, and Allen Freeman Davis. *Philadelphia Stories: A Photographic History, 1920-1960.* Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988.

Myers-Scotton, Carol. “Common and Uncommon Ground: Social and Structural Factors in Codeswitching.” *Language in Society*, Vol. 22, No. 4 (Dec., 1993): 475-503. Cambridge University Press.

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, https://www.naacp.org/about-us/, (accessed March 24, 2015).

Neblett, BJ. *George (Part 1).* http://bjneblett.blogspot.com/2013/02/george-part-one.html.

Nelson, Robert Uriel. *The Technique of Variation: A Study of the Instrumental Variation from Antonio de Cabezon to Max Reger*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1948.

Palmer, Margaret White. Interview by author, 3 March 2012. Telephone interview. Philadelphia, PA.

Palmer, Robert (1989). *Muddy Waters: Chess Box* (Box set booklet). Muddy Waters. Universal City, California: Chess Records/MCA Records.

Peck, Raoul, Rémi Grellety, Hébert Peck, James Baldwin, Henry Adebonojo, Bill Ross, Turner Ross, Samuel L. Jackson, et al. 2017. *I am not your Negro.*

Porter, Lewis. “Some Problems in Jazz Research.” *Black Music Research Journal* 8, No. 2 (Fall 1988): 195-206.

Post, Jennifer C. 1994. "Erasing the Boundaries between Public and Private in Women's Performance Traditions". *Cecilia Reclaimed.* 35-51.

Price, Florence B., *Florence Price Symphonies Nos. 1 and 2,* ed. Rae Linda Brown and Wayne Shirley, vol. 19, *Music of the United States of America* (Middleton, WI: A-R Editions, 2008), xxxv.

Rattenbury, Ken. *Duke Ellington/ Jazz Composer*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.

Reagon, Bernice Johnson, ed. *We'll Understand it Better By and By: Pioneering African American Gospel Composers*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992.

Ricks, G. R. *Some Aspects of the Religious Music of the United States Negro: An Ethnomusicological Study with Special Emphasis on the Gospel Tradition*. New York, N.Y.: Amo Press, 1977.

Rink, John. "Schenker and Improvisation." *Journal of Music Theory* 37, no. 1 (Spring 1993): 1-54.

Rohm, Joseph William. "Jazz Harmony: Structure, Voicing, and Progression." Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1974.

Sadie, Stanley, ed. *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*. London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980. S.v. "A cappella" by William C. Holmes.

Sample, Steve. *An Approach to Mainstream Jazz and Pop Harmony*. Santa Barbara, Calif.: Kinko's Publishing Group, 1986.

Schuller, Gunther. *Early Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

_____. *The History of Jazz*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1968.

_____. *The Swing Era*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.

Sebesky, Don. *The Contemporary Arranger*, rev. ed. Sherman Oaks, Calif.: Alfred Publishing Co., 1986.

Seis Manos. “Night of the Wolves.” Episode 3. Directed by Willis Bulliner. Written by Álvaro Rodriguez. Power House Animation. Netflix, Inc., October 3, 2019.

Shaw, Arnold. *Black Popular Music in America*. New York: Schirmer Books, 1986.

Simmons, R.M. *Good Religion: Expressions of Energy In Traditional African-American Worship.* Columbus, Ohio: Layman Christian Leadership, 1997.

Smith, Catherine Parsons. "Harlem Renaissance Man" Revisited: The Politics of Race and Class in William Grant Still's Late Career. *American Music,* Vol. 15, No. 3 (Autumn, 1997)381-406. University of Illinois Press. Http/www.jstor.org/stage/3052330.

Sojola, Andrea Jones. Interview by author, 19 September 2015. Telephone conversation.

Solomon, Olivia and Jack. *Honey in the Rock*. Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1991.

Southern, Eileen, ed. *Readings in Black American Music*. New York: Norton, 1971.

Southern, Eileen. “Reviewed Work: Music is My Mistress.” T*he Black Perspective in Music,* 2. no. 2 (1974): 211-212.

Southern, Eileen. *The Music of Black Americans: A History*. 2d ed. New York: Norton, 1971.

Spencer, Jon Michael. *Sacred Symphony: The Chanted Sermon of the Black Preacher*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987.

Strong, Willie. *Review of Happy in the Service of the Lord,* by Kip Lomell. In College Music Symposium 36 (1996): 177-79.

Strunk, Steven. “Bebop Melodic Lines: Tonal Characteristics.” *Annual Review of Jazz Studies* 3 (1985): 97-120.

_____. ‘The Harmony of Early Bop.” *Journal of Jazz Studies* VI/I (Fall/Winter 1979): 4-53.

Szabo, Burt and Dave Stevens, eds. *Barbershop Arranging Manual*. Kenosha, Wis.: Society for The Preservation and Encouragement of Barber Shop Quartet Singing in America, 1980.

Tanner, Paul O. W. And Maurice Gerow. *A Study of Jazz*. 2d ed. Dubuque, Iowa: WM.C. Brown Co. Publishers, 1973.

Tirro, Frank. *Jazz: A History*. New York: Norton, 1993.

Treadwell, James. *Interpreting Wagner*. New Haven [Conn.]: Yale University Press, 2003.

Tynan, John. Liner notes to *Golden Gospel*. Jimmy Witherspoon. Stereo Sounds SA-13, n.d. 265

Walker, Wyatt Tee. *Somebody’s Calling My Name: Black Sacred Music and Social Change*. Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1979.

_____ . *Spirits that Dwell in Deep Woods*. 3 vols. New York: Martin Luther King Fellows Press, 1987-91.

_____ . *The Soul of Black Worship*. New York: Martin Luther King Fellows Press, 1984.

Wessel, Frederick T. *The Affehtenlehre In the Eighteenth Century.* Thesis (Ph.D.).-Indiana University, 1955.

Williams, Martin. “Horses in Midstream: Count Basie in the 1950s.” *Annual Review of Jazz Studies* 2 (1985): 1-6.

Wise, Raymond "Defining African American gospel music by tracing its historical and musical development from 1900 to 2000." Electronic Thesis or Dissertation. Ohio State University, 2002. https://etd.ohiolink.edu/

Woodson, Carter Godwin, *The Mis-Education of the Negro*. Washington, D.C.: Associated publishers, 1933, *21*.

Zegree, Stephen L. “A Comparative and Analytical Study of the Procedures Used By Gene Pueriing, Phil Mattson, and Clare Fischer in Writing an A cappella Arrangement of a Popular American Song.” D.M.A. diss., University of Missouri-Kansas City, 1989.